

Time is Short! NDP Must Rally the People! Hold Mass Meetings! Stop the Drive to Nuclear Arm Canada!

By The Editors

The drive to nuclear arm Canada has more sharply differentiated the NDP from the Liberals and Conservatives in the public's mind than any other issue since it was founded in the summer of 1961. The first reaction of the leaders of the NDP has been to condemn the parties of big business and reiterate the party's stand against the bomb, thus carrying the fight to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and the further commitment of the Canadian people to the aggres-

sive military strategy of the U.S. State Department.

NDP leader T. C. Douglas reacted to Pearson's speech by calling for new elections before "any final commitments are made for the acquisition of nuclear arms."

When other party leaders followed suit it became apparent that, as Val Scott, NDP candidate for York Centre (Toronto) put it, "At last Canadians have a clear-cut opportunity to make up their minds on this vital subject, with

the Liberals now in favor, the Conservatives apparently leaning towards them and only the NDP clearly and adamantly opposing the spread of nuclear weapons."

Now the record has been made. But more is required to block the recently stepped-up arms drive. This issue has raised all kinds of doubts about the old line parties and caused widespread concern among hundreds of thousands of people in all walks of life across the country.

It has sown dissension even in

the ranks of the Liberal party, with at least two of their former candidates leaving to join the NDP.

Within the anti-war movements a new clarity of purpose has emerged because of the crisis revolving around the arms issue. The leaders of the Canadian Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, who formerly believed that the Liberals opposed A-arms, have now expressed "shock and disappointment" at Pearson's speech. The Voice of Women has affirmed its opposition to nuclear weapons in Canada and sharply disassociated itself from those who, along with Mrs. Pearson, said the Liberal stand is consistent with the aims of VOW.

The NDP must become a mighty voice in the discussions now going on. It must take the issue to the people, must explain and popularize its stand. Through mass rallies and extensive educational campaigns it can mobilize the people to stop the arms drive. In the course of this campaign greater interest in the NDP and what it stands for will develop. Opportunities will be opened for the party to take new forward

strides and overcome the demoralization that has eaten at its ranks in the past years.

This job now confronting the NDP will be all the easier if the leadership verifies the position worked out following a long debate at the founding convention, that if NATO or its members individually possess or control nuclear weapons then "Canada must make it clear that it cannot remain in the alliance." Now that General Norstad has revealed that NATO is nuclear armed and that Canadian forces are committed to nuclear equipment it is necessary to call for withdrawal from this alliance. Failure to do so undermines the demand that Canada itself not be nuclear armed.

By being consistent and not equivocating on this point the issue is put clear and simple—for or against continuing the arms race that threatens to lead to nuclear holocaust? The job of uniting the people against the arms drive, of exposing the propaganda of the cold war, can now be done in an effective way. The campaign must be got underway immediately.

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23

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ISSUES IN RUSSIA-CHINA RIFT EVER MORE SHARPLY DEBATED

By P. Kent

The dispute between China and the Soviet Union has now reached a point of no return. Even were Khrushchov to now seek some kind of accommodation, even were he to attempt to reverse the campaign which he has whipped up at all the recent congresses of Communist Parties in Europe, and which at the East German Socialist Unity Party Congress amounted to a virtual reading of the Chinese out of the world communist movement, the situation can never be the same.

This is not due primarily to the abuse that Khrushchov and his supporters have been heaping on the Chinese—although it has been extreme. Nor is it due to their distortions of the Chinese positions which have been flagrant. The Chinese have taken the dispute to a newer and higher plane commencing with an editorial that appeared in the Dec. 31 *Peking Peoples' Daily* and republished in *Peking Review* of Jan. 4th under the title—**The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us.**

Not only is this the clearest exposition and defence of the Chinese position that has appeared so far on the many questions that have been under dispute, sometimes open but often veiled, for some two years now. With this document the Chinese launch a critique of the extension by the Togliatti leadership of the Italian Communist Party of their concept of peaceful co-existence to the internal situation of Italy.

Their criticisms of the policies of the Italian CP, the largest in the West have a significance on a much wider plane for, as they point out, Togliatti claims that his theory is a "line common to the whole international communist movement". That the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada stands on the Togliatti line and has felt the barbs of the Chinese criticism tends to be affirmed by the

national executive's hurried identification with Khrushchov and denunciation of China.

The Chinese in this Dec. 31 editorial challenge the Italian CP with having "lapsed into the position of bourgeois pacifism", with representing "a new kind of social-democratic trend", with having "revised and discarded the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism." And they call for a "sharp struggle" against "the revisionist and new social democratic trends which have now appeared in the international communist movement . . ."

This marks a qualitative advance over the stage reached just one year ago when the Chinese sharply confronted the Soviet and other delegates at the Stockholm session of the World Peace Council with views that revealed that there was a totally different content in their concept of peaceful co-existence from that held by Khrushchov and his supporters.

Then, as they do today, from Khrushchov to Ulbricht down to Tim Buck, attempts were made to smear the Chinese as holding a position that preached resignation to war—to atomic war—in the belief that through such a war stretched the path to socialism. Reporting back to a Toronto audience at that time, Dr. James Endicott, who supported the Soviet view, ridiculed this charge. The difference, he said, is concerning how "to make sure that World War III can be prevented."

At that time Liao Cheng-chih upheld the Chinese view that the way to prevent war was not through the UN or summit conferences between Kennedy and Khrushchov, although of course he favored negotiation of differences where possible, but by the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism. If the peace movement, he said, "continuously accommodates itself

to imperialism," it "is bound to alienate itself from the broad masses and become powerless."

If there was any truth that in

the Chinese position then there was "a tendency to dismiss the working class in the capitalist countries as a vital force for peace," as the Canadian Communist Party NEC claims, there is none now.

Whereas the Chinese saw their opponents' concept of peaceful co-existence as calling off the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial peoples, as submitting to atomic blackmail, today they characterize this concept of peaceful co-existence as giving up the struggle for socialism in the advanced capitalist countries.

"In the final analysis, the stand taken by Togliatti and certain other CPI leaders boils down to this—the people of the capitalist countries should not make revolutions, the oppressed nations should not wage struggles to win liberation and the peoples of the world should not fight against imperialism."

The Chinese make a powerful defence and explanation of their position against the distortions of Khrushchov and his supporters. For instance they explain their use of the phrase "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers" to mean that the forces of social progress are more powerful than reaction, that no matter what kind of teeth imperialism has, even nuclear teeth as Khrushchov cries out, imperialism is decadent and rotten, and that the people can win. They score those who challenge this evaluation as lacking revolutionary confidence and zeal.

They explain that they are far from having no faith in the possibility of averting a new war and are warlike as Togliatti accuses. They express confidence that a world war can be prevented but state that "as long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression."

The real differences between themselves and "Togliatti and certain other comrades" are (1) that the latter are "prettifying U.S. imperialism" and "spread

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AN OLD STALIN LIE REPEATED

Khrushchov in his report to the USSR Supreme Soviet on December 12 charged that "some of the doctrinaires have slithered to Trotskyite positions and are impelling the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the road of unleashing a world war. They would like to impose the same provocative policy as Trotsky conducted in his day." Previously, referring to the signing of the peace between the young workers' republic and Germany towards the close of World War I, Khrushchov claimed that Trotsky, as head of the Red Army and foreign minister, "went against the Party, provocatively wrecked the peace negotiations with the Germans and left Brest. Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin) was then forced to send Chicherin and a peace treaty was signed."

This was exposed as a complete falsehood a little over a year ago by the editors of *Nuova Generazione*, organ of the Young Communist League of Italy.

Commenting on the difficulty but the need "of restoring Trotsky's political and ideological positions to their original form and criticizing them for what they actually were" they noted: "Last week for example *Vie Nuove* (a CPI weekly, Nov. 23, 1961) published the text of the debate in the Bolshevik central committee over the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Everybody knows that on that occasion the dispute was between Lenin and Bukharin and that Trotsky, while having a special position, decided the struggle by his vote and those of his supporters, in favor of Lenin. All that appears clearly in the verbatim record reprinted by *Vie Nuove* but nevertheless the weekly entitles the whole article 'Dispute with Trotsky.'"

illusions about imperialism and especially about U.S. imperialism"; (2) that the latter want the people "to place their hopes for world peace on 'mutual conciliation', 'mutual concessions', 'mutual accommodation' and 'sensible compromises' with imperialism" not scrupling "to impair the

fundamental interests of the people of various countries . . . and even demand that others also sacrifice the revolutionary principles"; and (3) that according to the former "all that the oppressed nations and the oppressed peoples can do is receive what is 'bestowed' by imperialism and the reactionaries and they should not wage struggles against them as 'this would have 'irreparable consequences.'"

The Chinese declare that it is possible to prevent a new world war only by relying on the combined struggle of the forces of the socialist camp, the national liberation movements and the peoples revolutionary struggles.

In part V of the lengthy document they show that "not only do Comrade Togliatti and certain other CPI comrades call for class-collaboration in place of class struggle in the international arena, they also extend their concept of 'peaceful co-existence' to relations between the oppressed and the oppressing classes within the capitalist countries."

Analyzing the CPI policy of achieving socialism through "structural reform" they point out that according to this theory "there is no need for present-day Italy to have a proletarian revolution, there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine and there is no need to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; they can arrive at socialism 'progressively' and 'peacefully' merely through a 'succession of reforms' . . . Isn't this a new kind of social-democratic trend?" they ask.

Towards the close of this extensive editorial the Chinese express the "hope it will be possible to eliminate our differences through comradely discussion" and that "Togliatti and the comrades sharing his views will recover their bearings and return to the stand of Marxism-Leninism . . ." They recall "on several occasions we have suggested the holding of a representative conference of the [Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to settle the current differences in the international communist movement."

At the East German Socialist Unity Party Congress Khrushchov dismissed Peking's appeal

for an early conference. The delegates, whipped up by his Ulbricht's and others' attacks on Peking, interrupted a 30 minute speech by Wu Hsiu-chuan with choruses of whistles, boos and foot-stomping, laughing derisively when he proclaimed the need of unity in the socialist camp and the need to discuss differences.

The scene at this January's Berlin conference was strangely reminiscent of the 15th congress of the CPSU in 1927 which marked the termination of democratic discussion in the world communist movement and the consolidation of Stalin's power. There, Stalin, with the aid of Bukharin, completed the suppression of the Left Opposition led by Trotsky and expelled it from the party. Rakovsky, the official record shows, after innumerable interruptions was deprived of the platform. Kamenev met such heckling that he was unable to speak. The struggle of the Left Opposition to keep the world communist movement on the Marxist-Leninist course took place in the ebb of the post-World War I revolutionary wave which assured the success of Stalin.

The Chinese are coming to grips with the greatest problems of our epoch under totally different circumstances. With the death of Stalin the authority of the CPSU has been tremendously diminished, the planned economy is proving itself and new waves of critical thought are sweeping the Soviet Union and the Soviet areas. Revolution continues to sweep the colonial world. The Chinese Communist Party stands at the head of a tremendous social upheaval involving 650 million people, with unlimited resources at its disposal, and cannot be silenced.

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Kennedy Breaks Govt. Dief Rallies Machine

By Ross Dowson

Canada isn't a banana republic, state still fairly common in Latin America where the workers and farmers are ruthlessly oppressed by a puppet, controlled by the U.S. State Department on behalf of the United Fruit Company. The Canadian capitalist class rule Canada, as partners, major partners, with the American capitalists. But today that doesn't mean that a government isn't going to be treated like a doge head of a banana republic. Canada's Prime Minister John Diefenbaker learned this month, only a few weeks after the humiliation of Britain's Prime Minister Macmillan.

With supreme arrogance, with utter contempt, not only of the Canadian people, but of a government which has done its level best by it, U.S. ruling circles intervened in the debate that has been going on amongst the Canadian people as to whether Canadian forces should be armed with nuclear weapons. And it wasn't half-thought out statement by a minor official but bore the unshakable imprint of the State Department.

This outrageous intervention designed to end the debate and impose nuclear arms under U.S. control on Canada, brought about the resignation of the defence minister, resulted in the downfall of the government, caused a crisis in the Tory party that has resulted in the resignation of Trade Minister Hees and Associate Defence Minister Sevigny, is having widespread repercussions in the Liberal Party, and the end of it by no means in sight.

And it isn't at all that the Diefenbaker government hasn't been doing right by the Pentagon and the State Department. Diefen-

baker has had problems, problems common to all governments subject to elections—made somewhat more sensitive in that his government is a minority government faced with an election—with trying to go to the people—at any moment. In their arrogance the U.S. ruling circles demonstrate a total absence of concern about such problems.

As veteran U.S. socialist Tom Gerry wrote in the *Militant* at the time of Macmillan's mortification: "Having tasted the fruit of cold war victory in nuclear confrontation of the Soviet Union during the height of the Cuban crisis Uncle Sam has flexed his muscles and bluntly asserted the right of American imperialism to reign as undisputed defender, champion and chief beneficiary of the world capitalist order."

There is a lot of talk going the rounds that the Diefenbaker government has had no coherent or consistent policy on nuclear arms, that it has been a bumbling government. But there is no truth in this talk. While he let External Affairs Minister Green emit his smiles, and so allay the fears of the Canadian people, Diefenbaker took Canada down the path of nuclear armament. In 1957 his

government agreed to the establishment of stockpiles of nuclear warheads in NATO nations. The next year his government decided it would provide aircraft that to be fully effective would require nuclear weapons, and later the same year agreed to the installation of Bomarc missiles in Canada.

If there are some "leaders" who thought that in 1961 NATO was non-nuclear or were taken in by Green, that is proof of their gullibility. The record sustains Diefenbaker's challenge to the house on Jan. 25; "we undertook to equip our squadrons assigned to NATO for a strike reconnaissance role, which role would in-

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BOSSES FEAR DIEF MAY HARM ALLIANCE WITH U.S. CAPITAL

(Continued from Page 1)

clude the mission of delivering nuclear weapons. No one was under any misunderstanding in that connection. Parliament approved this program and appropriated the funds." In fact it is on General Norstad's own testimony that Canada alone of all Nations committed to NATO has fulfilled its "obligations."

Of course there have been some differences. After it had become known that in his unilateral action against Cuba that thrust the world right onto the brink of nuclear destruction U.S. President Kennedy had cynically projected Canadian NORAD forces into action without so much as by-your-leave of the Canadian government, the Canadian prime minister protested. But could any government claiming to be a sovereign government do otherwise, and not hopelessly compromise parliamentary democracy?

For some years Canadian capitalist politicians, under the guise of not being really committed in the cold war and being

Independent of the colossus to the south, and parading as having no imperialist interests, have played the role of buffers and apologists for the U.S. state department. It fell to Liberal Prime Minister St. Laurent to rip into Britain and France whose military adventure at the Suez imperilled U.S. imperialist interest in the Near East. Having rid himself of their services Uncle Sam no longer concerns himself with the problems confronting the political machine of its junior partners.

But for a Canadian Big Business politician, particularly one in Diefenbaker's position as head of a minority government, there are some big problems in carrying out the tasks allotted to it as custodian of the interests of Canadian capitalism and junior partners of the State Department. There is a powerful and well organized cross-country opposition to nuclear arms—it is particularly strong in Quebec. There is widespread uneasiness about U.S. domination of Canadian life—about McCarthyism, Southern racism, about the strength of the military, the influence of the U.S. trade union bureaucracy, about the responsibility and even correctness of the U.S. State Department's role in world politics heightened by the Cuba crisis.

To top that the demands that the Pentagon is making on Canada are so transparently political, are so obviously devoid of military value, that sections of the army brass are opposing them. No doubt sections of the capitalist class see them as an extravagant waste of funds and seek renegotiation of Canada's contribution to the NATO alliance on a more acceptable, more rational basis.

As a responsible capitalist politician Diefenbaker kept U.S.-Canadian relations and nuclear armament out of the arena of partisan politics. As the final decision to fix the warheads into the positions that had been pre-

pared for them approached it was Liberal leader Pearson who jumped to make political capital out of Diefenbaker's cautious policy. It was into the midst of the rising difficulties that this caused in the Tory machine that the State Department cracked its whip. Then came a series of moves on the part of the top hierarchy of the party machine to dump Diefenbaker. They were fearful that the coming election would see him beat the drums of anti-Americanism and make nuclear arms the issue in his fight with the Liberals, they were frightened that he would put his own interests and the interests of the machine before the interests of the ruling class as a whole and they decided to break him. Instead of accepting retirement to the Supreme Court, Diefenbaker fought back. The showdown came with his acceptance of Trade Minister Hees' resignation and his dismissal, one daily reports, with the words: "I don't have to listen to you. You just represent big business interests."

For several days it was not clear what would result—whether or not the Tory party would be shattered in the struggle—but Diefenbaker, fighting for his political life, won out. And now the business interests are making their peace with him—with former Argus Corporation head Senator McCutcheon taking a cabinet post.

From the edge of destruction Diefenbaker has moved into an extremely favorable strategic position. The Liberals have nuclear arms suspended around their necks and are stamped Made in U.S.A. Events have transformed Diefenbaker into a fighting underdog standing up before the American colossus and opposing nuclear

arms. He has cleared himself of commitment to accept the nuclear warheads for all the equipment that he has lined up, until after the election — until the coming Ottawa NATO conference.

Diefenbaker, with his "made-in-Canada" policy and his appearance of reluctance, if not actual opposition, to acceptance of nuclear arms, is in a position to do grave damage to the common interests of Canadian and U.S. capitalism. With this in reserve he is in a position to force the Liberals and Social Credit to modify their policy—he can even hope to influence the leadership of the NDP to soft pedal its opposition to nuclear arms, to remain silent on Canada-U.S. relations, and not carry out the pledge of the founding convention to urge Canadian withdrawal from a nuclear armed NATO.

The NDP has nothing to lose in frontally defying the pressure to keep Canadian-U.S. relations and the issue of nuclear arms out of this election campaign, and everything to gain.

It is its responsibility to concentrate all its efforts to rally the Canadian people in opposition to nuclear arms—to not seek the renegotiation of the Liberal and Tory commitments to NATO and NORAD but to scrap them—to take a firm and consistent opposition to Canadian involvement in anyway in U.S. State Department military alliances—to tell the truth about the link-up of Canadian capitalist interests with U.S. capitalist interests and how this endangers the Canadian and American people.

There can be no made-in-Canada policies until the working people of this country have the power in their own hands, until the basic means of production are taken under public ownership. The first step in this direction is to elect as many NDP candidates as possible on the way to a workers and farmers government in Ottawa.

NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADIANS

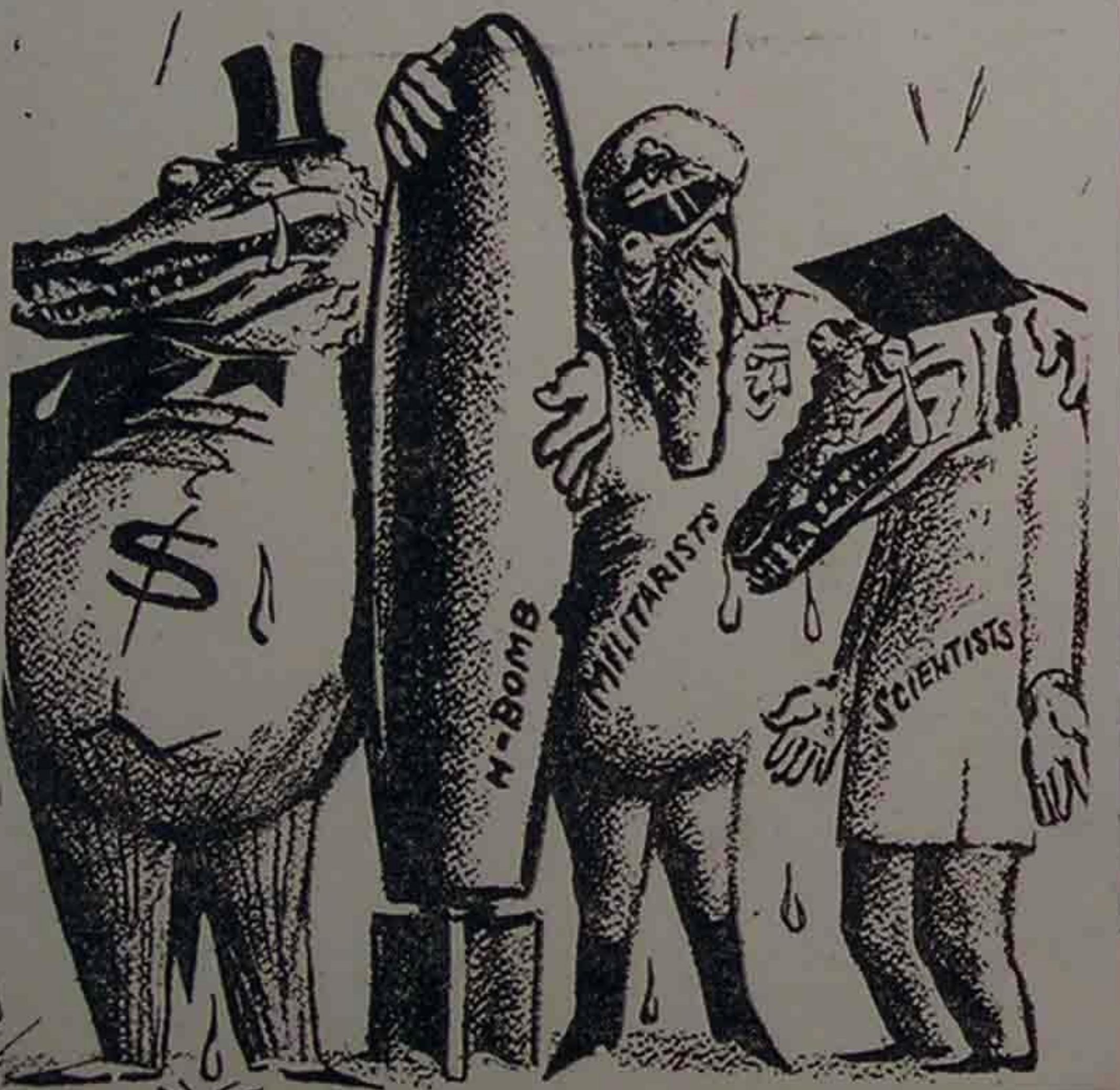
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THE HORROR OF IT ALL!



LABOR VIGOROUSLY OPPOSES A-BOMB

Canada's largest labor council, the Toronto and District Labor Council, representing some 120,000 unionists, vigorously re-affirmed its opposition to nuclear arms for Canadian forces at its Feb. 8 meeting. The motion, in line with the official position of the CLC (AFL-CIO), came from Local 28 of the Autoworkers and was passed by a 10 to 1 vote.

While it was presented with the approval of the executive, two of the 12 man body, W. D. Kearns of the Hotel Employees Union and Max Federman of the Fur Workers, a leading member of the NDP, spoke in opposition.

Federman called the CLC policy a "grave mistake" and urged acceptance of nuclear arms, "otherwise," he said, "we have no place in NATO." "Then let's get out of NATO!" shouted several delegates.

Is The Key Issue In Apr. 8 Election

Mid Feb 63

By The Editors

The key issue in the federal elections coming up on April 8 is whether or not Canadian forces at home and abroad are to be nuclear armed. The steady pace at which the Canadian government has been preparing the arms build-up no longer satisfies the financial oligarchy that rules the U.S., their junior partners in Canada, and their political spokesmen in Washington and Ottawa. Now they want the bomb itself.

The eyes of the opponents of the nuclear arms drive the world over are focused on Canada. This election comes at a time when every decision has been made to nuclear arm Canada but the last, the final one. On April 8th the people of Canada have the opportunity to block this decision, to deal a powerful blow against the war drive and open up new roads in the struggle for peace.

The Toronto *Globe and Mail*, a long-time supporter of the Conservative Party, reflected the thinking prevalent in the political circles of Big Business when it reluctantly noted "It is probably inevitable that the nuclear arms issue will be prominent in the coming election campaign" and wailed "the best that can be hoped is that candidates will treat it . . . with restraint." This is a question of such vital importance that they don't want it to be handled in open and honest debate.

Whatever the differences among the Liberals, Tories and Social Credit, both real and alleged, they have one position in common. Regardless of how they try to talk around the question, they all have the policy of forwarding the arms drive. What differences they have on this question are based on how to trick and deceive the Canadian people so that the deed can be done with the least difficulty and under the auspices of their own particular party machine.

Liberal leader Pearson recently removed the mask that his party has long worn to reveal it as being more openly than any other in favor of nuclear weapons—all in the name of "honouring our commitments." But even he would mislead the people by claiming that, once here, negotiations would immediately begin with the U.S. government to remove the warheads to which the Tories have committed Canada. If it were actually their desire to not acquire them, as they try to make out, they would demand negotiations to stop them from coming in now.

Social Credit, apparently not too concerned with even appearing to be politically honest, is dishing out two diametrically opposite positions. National leader Thompson, after repeatedly echoing Pearson's line in parliament, and having proposed a coalition with the "nuclear arms now" dissidents in the Tory party, has given the go-ahead to co-leader Caouette to tour Quebec saying "We are against nuclear arms, whether it be in Canada or outside the country."

Diefenbaker, sensitive to the popular opposition to nuclear arms, has tried to leave the impression that he too now has reservations and doubts—of a strictly practical character. But while he was prime minister, the Tory government brought into Canada and provided for Canadian NATO forces in Europe, weapons that are useless without nuclear warheads. Since November they have secretly negotiated with

the U.S. government for the warheads themselves. Step by step, making deals behind closed doors, they have slowly but surely drawn Canada closer towards joining the nuclear club. Be written ~~over~~ the NATO conference in Ottawa this May before making the final decision, and by claiming he will be "flexible" in making his decision, Diefenbaker wants to suggest a reluctance and reasonableness. His primary concern is not whether to bring them in or not. He has decided that. His problem now is what kind to bring in, when to time it, and how to do it in a way that will raise the least opposition.

Withdraw from NATO!

The NDP is the only party that has taken a clear stand against nuclear weapons. This sharply demarks it from all the parties of capital.

The NDP must now take full advantage of the new situation, a situation that offers the greatest opportunities to set back the arms build-up which threatens to result in an obliterating world-war three.

The Canadian people fear war and nuclear involvement. They aspire to see Canada play a role on the international arena independent of the U.S. which they distrust, and one that is in the interests of humanity. These aspirations can take on flesh and blood. By emphasizing no nuclear arms for Canada as the key issue in its nationwide campaign the NDP can mobilize tremendous support in the ranks of the Canadian people.

Although inspiring possibilities now exist, it is not as yet clear that the NDP leadership will take full advantage of the new situation.

The party leadership appears to be fearful of facing up to the logic of the situation. When Liberal leader Paul Martin challenged NDPer Tom Berger in the house on January 31 that "he does not believe in NATO," Berger cried out "I resent the cheap political insinuation!"

The founding convention of the NDP decided that should NATO become nuclear armed Canada should withdraw from it. If there was any doubt then as to whether this military alliance with its nuclear strategy was nuclear armed, there are none now. Yet NDP deputy leader David Lewis stated in the house as the party's stand "a non-nuclear role in the western alliance, staying in NATO and giving our best . . ."

To consistently oppose commitment to the nuclear arms drive requires withdrawal from NATO, for even some kind or formula of a non-nuclear role for Canada locks it into a nuclear alliance under the absolute control of the Pentagon. The NDP leadership should not hesitate to now declare that the party is for Canadian withdrawal from NATO—an aggressive military alliance directed against the Soviet Union and designed to uphold colonialism abroad and sustain capitalism on the European continent. To acquiesce to Canadian participation in a nuclear armed NATO is to gravely weaken the party's demand that Canada have no nuclear arms either at home or abroad.

The party is now being tested, measured as to what its present capacity is and to what its potential for the future is. Now is the time to call off the witch-hunt against the socialists that in recent months has plagued the party in BC and threatens to boil up in Ontario. The enemies are the parties of capitalism. United in opposition to nuclear arms both at home and abroad all members and supporters of the NDP should join and work in the campaign with all the strength at their command.

A tremendous support rallied behind the NDP, no matter how it may be reflected in the number of seats in the commons, can halt Canada's commitment to the nuclear arms drive. The Canadian people can strike a blow for peace on April 8 that will echo around the globe.

EMOTIONAL ABOUT NUCLEAR ARMS? YOU BET! VOTE FOR LIFE! VOTE NDP!

There are already enough nuclear arms to destroy civilization, to smash every major population center into rubble and render the rest of the globe uninhabitable due to radio-active pollution.

The US government and its military are bent on forcing Canada into the nuclear club over which they have complete control. Already armed with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons and making thousands more each year according to Kennedy's security adviser, the rulers of the U.S. want Canada to jam nuclear warheads into the Starfighters, Honest Johns and Bomars that the Liberal and Tory governments have prepared for them.

These weapons, of an entirely offensive character, are planked right on the borders of the USSR. They add nothing to Canadian defence for there is no defence against ICBM's. They add nothing substantial to the so-called deterrent for it is the boast of the US Defence Secretary McNamara that the USSR doesn't even have the capacity for a second strike, while

the U.S. could survive two and still have resources to strike back.

The inescapable conclusion is that the US aims are political, are designed to trap Canada into its offensive nuclear strategy and use Canadian compliance to line up other nations in its drive to dominate the entire globe.

There can be no illusions that Washington will not use the H

bomb. In 1945, while the Japanese were treating for surrender, it destroyed the cities and populations of Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

So geared is the US military establishment for nuclear war—supersonic nuclear armed craft in the air, on constant alert, with the first unidentified blip on a radar screen blasting right up over the Arctic tundra to the borders of

the Soviet Union, and on; unless ordered back — that the possibility of the accidental ignition of the nuclear holocaust is real.

Washington has its hands in innumerable situations across the globe, anyone of which could accelerate into the nuclear war. Right now intervening in South Vietnam, it is failing in its attempts to sustain its stooge dictator Nge Din Diem, with two billion dollars of US aid and 12,000 US military advisers, against a tiny band of poorly armed Viet Cong freedom fighters.

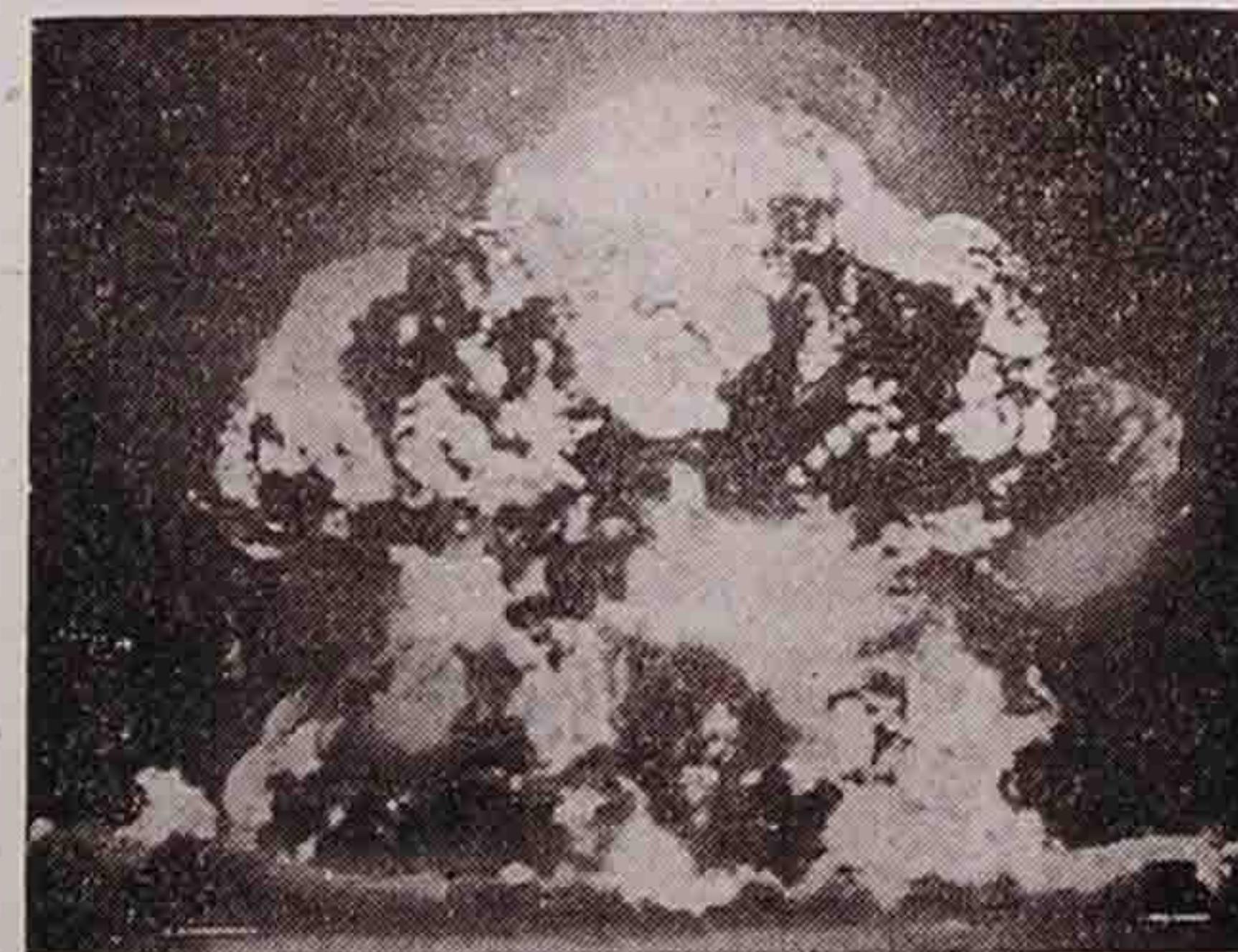
Last fall President Kennedy accelerated US harassment of tiny Cuba into a situation where he committed an act of war by clamping down a blockade which projected the entire world right up to the brink of disaster.

How else can one characterize Washington and the Pentagon than nuclear maniacs—juggling with the fate of humanity? How else can one characterize heads of government who talk in such a matter of fact way, as does Defence Secretary McNamara, of

the mechanics of a war that would kill 100 million Americans, and go about the grisly business of preparing for the survival of a remaining 20 to 40 million?

Instead of working towards peace the Liberals and Tories are latching Canada onto the American nuclear juggernaut. Each year over the past decade they have been squandering almost two billion dollars on military preparations which could provide jobs and economic security for every Canadian, and going through the farcical maneuvers of preparations for survival from a nuclear war. Such plans are suicidal for there can be no survival from a nuclear holocaust.

Only the NDP has taken a clear and unequivocal stand in opposition to the nuclear arms drive. Vote for life, by voting for the NDP. A mighty poll behind the NDP will lift up the anti-war forces across the globe, particularly those inside the US itself, and launch them forward on a higher plane towards a new world of peace and plenty.



The Workers Vanguard

NDP is Out to Win Power Don't Toss Your Vote Away

MAR 63

The New Democratic Party has nominated 206 candidates, a candidate for every riding but 50; more than enough to form the government on April 8. The NDP is out to win.

Big Business aims to defeat the NDP. That has top priority. They are intent on seeing either one or the other of their two parties, either the Liberals or the Tories, no matter which, establish a decisive majority. Government is big business and they want to operate through a machine which has some stability, with which they can work out the necessary and firm connections to sustain and further their interests against those of the working people.

That is the main pitch of the Liberals and the Tories to the electorate — elect a stable government! That is the key issue, according to them — see that one party has an overall majority! See that it is us, cry the Liberals! See that it is us, cry the Tories! This policy has the merit of allowing both Big Business parties to further their own interests, to carry on a struggle against one another, and at the same time form a common front against the opposition—primarily the NDP — relegate it to a token and inconsequential position.

Increasing numbers are seeing through the Liberal-Tory game. The Liberals had an overall majority for 22 years. The Tories replaced them with an overall majority for four years and everything went on as usual. Both governments had the same foreign policy—under both the interests of capital were supreme against labor. We had recurring unemployment, rising costs, pyramiding debts. And so the talk about a stable government serves their highest principle. It is designed to keep the NDP down. It turns the election away from a discussion and consideration of real issues, into the channels of picking the winner on the assumption that only one or the other, either the Liberals or the Tories, has a chance, into attempting to chose the lesser of what

(See Overleaf — THE N.D.P. IS)

The NDP is Out to Win!

(Continued From Overleaf)

are actually two evils.

This is an old device of the parties of the status quo — to present the opposition as having no chance of forming a government and thus amounting only to a hampering factor in "getting things done". But the surprising thing is, the tragic thing is, that it has had considerable effect on the NDP — and not just on this or that candidate but the top leadership, the policy-shapers of the party.

An Ottawa Citizen staff reporter got the federal secretary and organizer of the NDP campaign into this numbers racket. Predictions? The possibilities of balance of power position? Such matters are not the business of the party leadership during an election campaign. The NDP can win a majority, it can form a government, it is essential that the people of Canada place an NDP government into power, they can and should. Such a line would do much to stir all NDPers into action and rally those who are beginning to see through the Liberals and Tories, to vote NDP.

But that is not what Terence Grier told the Citizen according to their staff reporter. With an air of real politics, he predicted defeat for the NDP — and gave odds of three to one that the election would produce another minority government. He is quoted as predicting that not one of the 50 to 60 NDP Quebec standard bearers will win a seat. In BC he doesn't know if the NDP will increase its strength. Then he goes into what he alleges are even merits in a minority government with the NDP having the balance of power.

As bad as the national organizer's line is, T. C. Douglas' recent statements are even worse. As national leader of the party his recent declaration to a mass rally in New Westminster can have even more dangerous effect. Naturally the press has given a big play to his statements that are based entirely on the premise that the NDP will not win. Douglas predicted that the NDP will hold the balance of power after April 8 and in such a position "may hold the solution to what lies ahead for Canada".

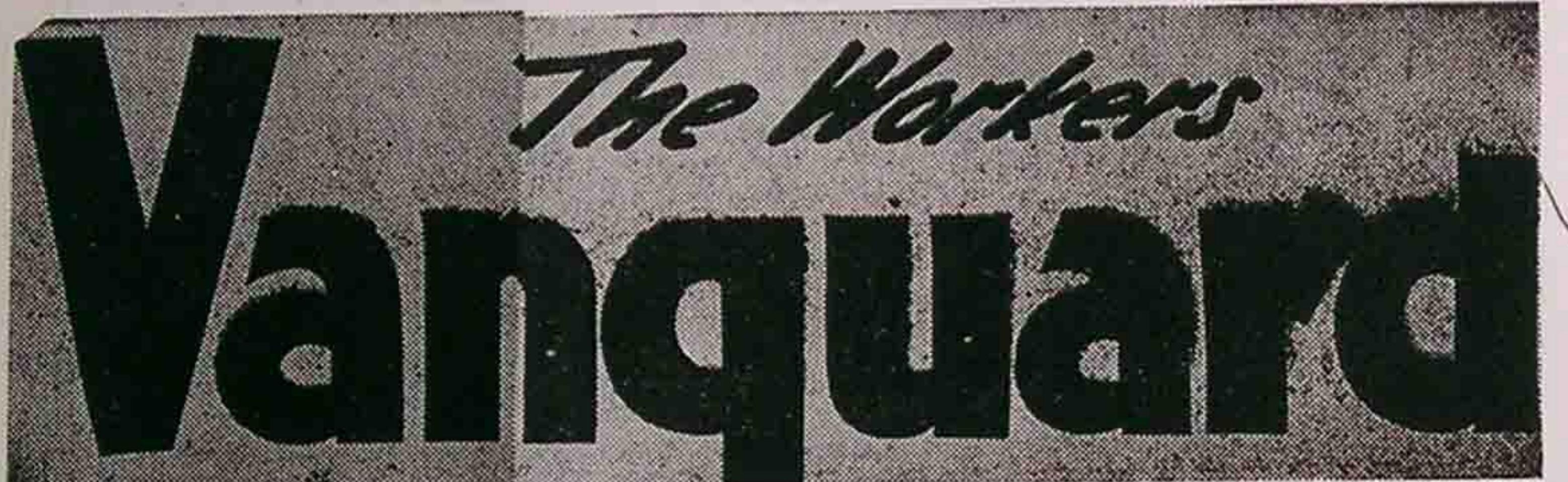
Instead of a mandate for office the leadership of the party are asking for a second choice ballot and stating in so many words that either one of the other parties, under their pressure, will do. This is playing right into the hands of the Liberal-Tory propaganda and undercutting the possibility of the NDP really moving forward by presenting itself as the only contender for office that the working people can vote for.

A vote for all the other parties is not just a wasted vote. It is a vote for nuclear suicide! In his campaign kick-off speech Douglas correctly called this election a referendum on nuclear arms — on a matter of life and death. To those who question whether we will win, it is necessary to say we can; you must vote for what you want. Better to vote for what you want and not get it, than vote for what you don't want and get it!

NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADA WORK FOR, VOTE NDP APRIL 8

Mid Mar 1963

**'A Referendum on Warheads'
'Decision of the Generation,'
Challenges T.C. Douglas**



Vol. 7 (No. 12) (84)

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March, 1963

#84

23

Toronto—Price 5 cents

Mid-March

"This election is first of all, and most important of all, a referendum of the Canadian people on the question of nuclear warheads," said NDP leader T. C. Douglas to a cheering audience in Toronto's York Scarborough constituency. The April 8 election, he said will be "the most fateful decision of the day and the generation for Canada."

Man can destroy civilization, pollute the earth and kill every living thing. The world rests under the threat of the mushroom cloud. The number one objective of the world is to prevent nuclear war. Children have the God-given right to grow up in health and walk the earth in dignity. As long as you and I have the strength we should fight to see that they get it. The first step to prevent nuclear war is to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. The NDP stands alone in unqualified and unambiguous opposition to nuclear arms.

This was the theme of Douglas' speech to a hushed and then wildly enthusiastic Scarborough audience as he kicked off the NDP national election campaign.

Sixty nine of the possible 72 council members of the Saskatchewan New Democratic party, meeting earlier in the month in Regina, unanimously felt that this would be the major issue in the election campaign. Provincial president Harry Link said that the NDP "states unequivocally that there is no place for nuclear arms of any kind on Canadian soil nor should Canadian forces anywhere be equipped with them. Only through taking this position can Canada give leadership toward world peace."

Honorary national leader M. J. Coldwell, addressing a nomination meeting in Regina, pointing up the important issues which would face the next parliament, stressed as first among them "Shall we join in the nuclear waste?" Canada must say no to nuclear weapons in Canada or in the hands of Canadian troops anywhere in the world.

Dr. E. Mahood, accepting the NDP nomination in Saskatoon, said the major issue in the April 8 election campaign is the question of nuclear arms, but that behind this lies the question of

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Page 2 Editorials

economic and political control of Canada. Step by step, he said, the federal government is abandoning the rights of Canadians to control their own military destiny. "I am not anti-American. I have no quarrel with the American people. I am speaking now of the warfare state, that military-industrial complex which dictates American policy."

At the Edmonton Alberta meeting, the largest ever assembled in that city, as he did in Toronto, NDP leader Douglas challenged the other three party leaders to come out from behind their "smokescreen of doubletalk" and debate the issue of nuclear arms on nationwide television.

"The difference between the Liberal party and the Conservative party on the issue," he said, "is the difference between warheads in April and warheads in May." The election of a Liberal government would make Canada nuclear immediately. The Conservative party purchased the nuclear weapons systems. And now Mr. Diefenbaker says that government policy on the warheads cannot be announced until after a NATO meeting in May, until after

(See overleaf—THE CHALLENGE)

(Continued From Page One)

The Challenge of This Election

the election—which won't have anything to do with the decision.

The Conservative party has been committed to the weapons for four years and is just waiting for the right moment to break the news to Canadians, he added.

As for Social Credit, co-leader Real Caouette is opposed to nuclear weapons and co-leader Robert Thompson supports them. Co-leader Thompson says we must have nuclear warheads in Europe and we have a moral obligation to have them in Canada. Co-leader Caouette says he won't have them under any circumstances. "It's fortunate the Socreds have two heads," he quipped. "One can do the thinking and the other the talking. Caouette talks a lot faster than Thompson thinks."

The main issue, the key, the crucial issue, the NDP leader stressed on April 8 is nuclear arms. Canadians must put Canada on the side of peace by voting against nuclear arms, by voting for the New Democratic party candidates across the country.

A Call to Immediate Action

Not only does the NDP have a tremendous responsibility to the anti-war forces across the world but it has a glorious opportunity to get elected into office, and even failing that, to rally such support to its side as to stalemate the cold war warriors in their schemes and lay down a solid basis for future victories.

This requires all those who support the NDP and particularly those associated with the League for Socialist Action and the Vanguard, the voice of socialism within the NDP, to really extend themselves. We have decided:

1—To put the Vanguard on a ten-day publishing schedule for the duration of the campaign and publish in such a form as to permit all our friends and supporters to distribute it on a massive scale across the country.

2—To commence our annual drive to sustain the Vanguard immediately and set ourselves the objective of raising \$3,500, the highest amount ever.

Join in the effort to acquaint everyone with the Vanguard! Those of you who now see it for the first time, take out a year's subscription by sending in \$1.00 to 81 Queen Street West, Toronto!

TORY-LIBERAL BI-PARTISAN POLICY IMPERILS ALL CANADA—VOTE NDP

In a bold, a cunning and cynical maneuver, as the federal election campaign went into its last week, Tory Prime Minister Diefenbaker with obvious glee saw a trap that he had prepared more than a week previous, spring on Liberal leader Pearson. On Friday March 29 testimony given by U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara before a U.S. Congressional appropriations committee that had been made known earlier to the Canadian government hit the press. In this testimony McNamara described the Bomarc, which the Liberals had been upbraiding the Tories for not arming with nuclear warheads, as having no military value other than to draw enemy fire in the event of war.

With malicious satisfaction Diefenbaker scored the Pearson policy as designed "to make Canada a decoy for intercontinental missiles." Playing it for all its worth he told an audience in St. Thomas "You put nuclear weapons up there (at LaMacaza and North Bay) and see what Canada gets—Canada will be subject to the first attack."

The following day Diefenbaker

announced the removal of the last of the tariff surcharges that his government imposed last June in a sweeping austerity program that has sent the cost of living the highest in Canadian history. By the removal of the 10% surcharge on many consumers goods coming in from the U.S. he hopes to underline Pearson's program of belt-tightening which would shove welfare measures well down the list if a Liberal government were elected into office.

There is nothing really new in U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara's evidence relating to the Bomarc that Diefenbaker is making so much of. When the Tory government planked them down at North Bay and La Macaza it was already known that they were hopelessly outmoded as weapons, that they had only a range of 400 miles, were useless against ICBMs and, if they were to even succeed in their alleged purpose, would only bring weapons of destruction down on the heads of those who they were supposed to defend.

What McNamara's statement does highlight are the mad prep-

arations that the U.S. ruling circles have underway for a war from which there can be no serious thought of survival, and the utter contempt that they hold for the lives, not only of the Canadian people, but the American people and the peoples everywhere as they callously go about making all the preparations that can only result in such a war.

Attempting to pose as a man of peace Diefenbaker argues that the separation of the Bomarc missiles from their nuclear war heads, which he is negotiating to be stored at the border, will somehow make Canada less a decoy in a nuclear war, when it is his and the Liberal party's entire foreign policy, their commitments to the Washington dominated aggressive military alliances of NORAD and NATO that imperil the security of the Canadian people and the peoples of the entire world.

At the meeting of NATO powers in Ottawa on May 22, where if elected he says he will renegotiate Canada's commitment to NATO, Mr. Diefenbaker will be faced with a proposal from Washington for

not less but further commitments —this time to a NATO multilateral nuclear force.

Mr. Diefenbaker has remained strangely silent with respect to U.S. Defence Department reports that his government is considering a NORAD proposal, not merely to store a couple of the tens of thousands of nuclear devices now under its trigger finger, but to establish an alternate underground headquarters on Canadian soil—at North Bay. The U.S. military propose that the North Bay installation, which is built underground and therefore is not as vulnerable as the above ground Colorado Springs installation, be made a duplicate headquarters.

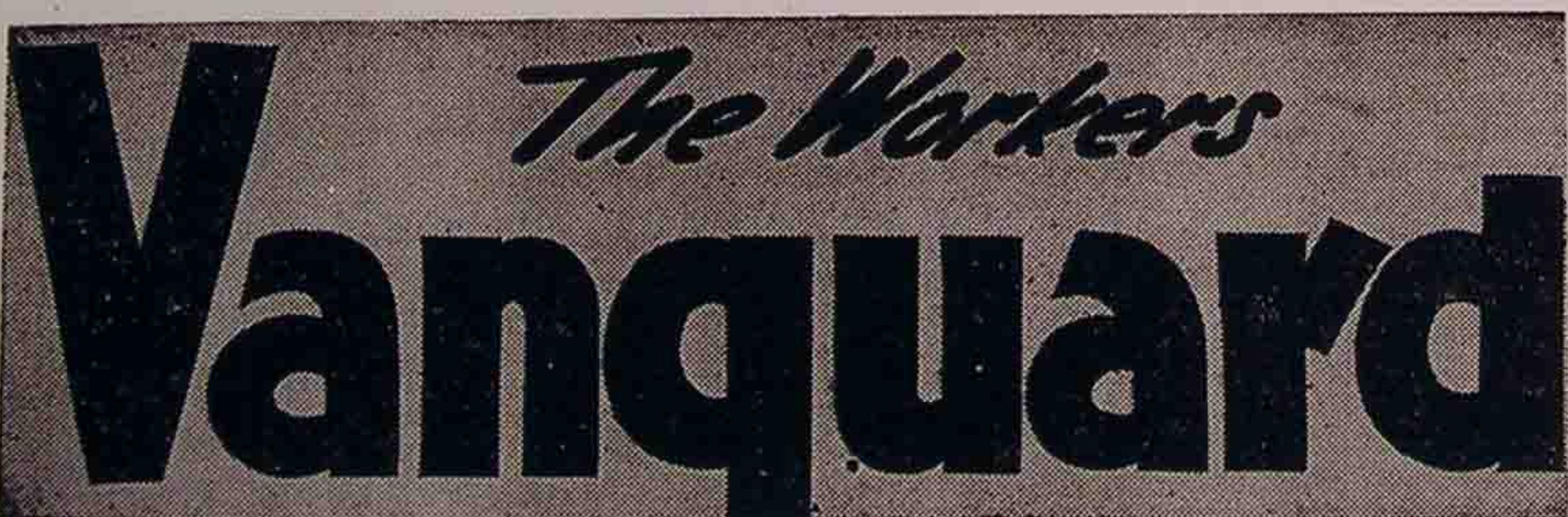
On April 8th the Canadian people have an opportunity to strike a mighty blow for peace by electing into office the NDP, the only party that has taken a clear and unequivocal stand in opposition to the nuclear armament of Canadian forces both here and abroad, or, failing that to roll up a powerful vote behind it. Such an act would constitute a tremendous blow against the cold warriors which would echo around the world. Having taken such a step we could

then move forward in the direction of hammering out an entirely new foreign policy.

Canada needs a foreign policy that decisively breaks it from the bi-partisan policies of the Liberals and Tories. It should break from the NATO and NORAD alliances that have aligned us with the adventurist policies of the Nehru government against China and the Indian masses themselves. Through these alliances Canada has given planes to India, aid and comfort to the Portuguese campaign of extermination of the Angolese freedom fighters, to the murder and rapine of the Algerian people, and to the State department's act of war against Cuba that thrust the world to the brink of disaster.

Canada should develop an extensive policy of aid and trade with the growing forces across the globe that are striving in the direction of a new, free socialist society. It should seek to co-ordinate and integrate its economy with theirs, for it is along this path that her own future lies.

There is still time. Vote for life! Vote for a future, by voting for the NDP on April 8.



WV #84B April 1963

Editorial

APR '63

Tories & Liberals Confess It's Strictly a Put Up Job

If you want more of the same thing that you have been getting you can vote either Liberal or Progressive Conservative—they are the same difference. Our authority for this statement is not the New Democratic Party but sources which for years have been claiming on every occasion quite the opposite and even right now, while making this admission, say that it is essential that you vote Liberal.

The Toronto Globe and Mail which has traditionally supported the Tories now affirms this basic truth. Its millionaire owner is now attempting to switch voters subject to its influence behind Lester B. Pearson and the Liberals. The editor, in an extensive front page statement, writes; "Those who voted Conservative in past elections should find no philosophical problem to vote Liberal in this election. It has been a long time since there has been any philosophical difference between the two parties."

So much for an influential Tory opinion, but what about the Liberals? They openly and frankly don't see any difference either—according to the Liberal Party leader himself.

Mr. Pearson told election columnist L. J. Zink of the Telegram that he would resign and he hoped Diefenbaker would do the same if neither of their parties got a working majority. "There are no unbridgeable differences between the two parties and new, younger men on both sides—and I mean new men, not the old guard," Mr. Pearson said—"might be able to join forces . . ."

And so when next you hear Pearson lambasting Diefenbaker or vice-versa about nuclear arms or anything else for that matter you will know that actually it is one big fraud, a game. The only problem is that the stakes in this game are the economic well-being of you and your family, even the question of the continued survival of mankind, and you will vote for the New Democratic Party.

Meaning of our Vote And What's to Be Done

By the Editors

MAY '63

The tumult and the shouting of the campaign to elect Canada's 26th parliament has died. The top strategists of the Liberals are analyzing just what their victory means, just how far they can go with their austerity program and belt tightening on the working people, how far and how fast they can commit Canada, after they nuclear arm the Bombers, to a nuclear armed NATO. They are thinking of how they can work things so that the next election will win them an overall majority.

The thousands of working people who are now members and supporters of the New Democratic Party, who freely gave their time and energy to establish a labor-farmer government in Ottawa, and the many who until now have stood on the sidelines, sympathetic but sceptical, are wondering what happened to the NDP. They are wondering where we go from here.

A full and unrestricted discussion of the NDP election campaign policy and strategy, open to all who desire to participate—before the entire working people of Canada who have to become involved in the party's affairs and won to its side so that it can achieve its purpose—must now take place.

The Political Education Committee of the Toronto and District Labour Council, the largest council in the country, has submitted an evaluation. The Ontario provincial council of the NDP has discussed the matter. In Vancouver this week NDP candidates Dorothy Steeves, Hugh Clifford and others, talk on The Federal Election and the Need for a Socialist Manifesto for the NDP at the Hillcrest NDP hall.

Another meeting at the League for Socialist Action hall in Vancouver will be addressed by NDP candidates Margaret Erickson, Hugh Clifford and LSA leader Ruth Bullock on Where to Now, for the NDP.

A Serious Setback for Labor

It is our opinion that these election results represent a serious defeat for the NDP—the cause of which must be ascertained so that the party, particularly this year's national convention, can take appropriate action. The results are certainly much worse than the party leadership lead everyone to believe they would be.

To be sure the leadership led no one to anticipate that we would take office. They did just the opposite, about which we will comment later. But they predicted that the party would make a breakthrough in Quebec. We didn't! They predicted that we would pick up "at least four or five seats on top of the three won in 1962" in the Toronto area. We lost one and almost another. "It will be surprising," they said, "if the NDP got less than 39.40% of the vote in the province" of B.C. We were stalemated at 30%. There is no question that Glace Bay would re-elect the "new image" M.P., Malcolm MacInnis. We lost, with 3,000 miners boycotting the polls. They talked of amassing two million votes. We got one million.

We do not think that in their predictions the leadership was away out on Cloud 9. We don't think that they overestimated the level of consciousness of the Canadian people, or were on some kind of left jag. But they were all wrong, absolutely and tragically wrong!

By their own standards the campaign, particularly in certain ridings, was a model one. They had the "right kind" of candidates, more than enough campaign workers, plenty of, and diverse election material—in one Toronto riding alone they spent more than the total spent in all Quebec.

To be sure the party didn't get the breaks from the big capitalist dailies. But will it ever? It was red-baiting but not markedly, and when won't this device be used to confuse the electorate? From the point of view of the leadership of the party, their concepts of program and strategy, this election campaign was an ideal one. But what happened?

Whatever can be said about the program, the party had an issue in this election that transcends all others, handed to them on a platter. The downfall of the Diefenbaker government, brought about by the arrogant interference of the U.S. State Department, and its repercussions through the cabinet, sharply posed the question of the acquisition of nuclear arms for Canadian forces both here and abroad.

There has been no poll taken by anyone over the past several years that didn't show three and four times the number of persons than had ever voted CCF-NDP, opposed to nuclear arms.

The issue of nuclear arms opened up the possibility of winning the support of thousands who have heretofore voted for the Big Business parties, of mobilizing thousands who have abstained from politics, of winning the anti-nuclear youth who could transform the movement into a crusade.

The nuclear arms question threw all three capitalist parties into a crisis. The Tories suffered the defection of three of their cabinet ministers and lost an important part of their Big Business support. Pearson's cynical switch to open support of nuclear arms shook out some prominent Liberals who aligned themselves with the NDP. Social Credit proved unable to adopt a consistent federal policy. And these difficulties only reflected a more profound crisis confronting the capitalist parties.

Big Possibilities in Situation

Political lines have been shattered and shattered again in the past seven years. In 1957, after 22 years of office, the Liberals suffered a crushing defeat and only a year later appeared to the NDP leadership at least, to be incapable of recovery. The next election dealt a staggering blow to the Tories, witnessed a modest recovery of the Liberals and an upsurge for Social Credit in Quebec. Deputy leader David Lewis opened up his campaign this election with the sweeping prediction that the Progressive Conservatives were spent as a political force.

It is a complete and utter distortion of the facts to say as does the Toronto Labor Council PEC that "our vote held firm and indeed as stated above increased." The NDP was stopped dead in its tracks. The increase that the PEC talks about is a mere 15,000 votes—but there were 220,000 more votes cast. By merely fielding candidates in 23 Quebec ridings where it had none in 1962, the NDP picked up 33,000 votes.

The NDP registered no headway over the previous year and in fact over the vote that the CCF had worked up over the years. And that is just what the present leadership were going to do, to break out of the box that the CCF was in, through eliminating any and all concepts of class from the party program, by purging it of any taint of public ownership and by substituting firm commitments with tricky formulae which would allow mutually exclusive interpretations.

Not only did the NDP vote remain static in the face of this

(see page 3 — Where Do We Go)

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Where do we go from here?

(continued from page one)

extremely promising situation but all the hopes of an improved strategic position failed to materialize. The Liberal party, which the NDP leadership predicted was washed up and would result in the polarization of conservative forces around the Tories; the Progressive Conservative party which they later predicted was through and would result in the polarization of conservative forces around the Liberals—both parties remain. Where the vote broke out of the old Liberal-Tory ruts it jumped in Quebec into the Social Credit party, which this election saw stabilize its vote and record growth in the urban areas. In four Montreal French working class ridings which it had contested with strong candidates the previous election, the NDP increased its vote from 14 to 16%. Social Credit in the same ridings doubled and in some cases tripled its vote to average 17%.

The most persistent explanation for the failure of the NDP to advance in this election has been the impact of the high powered campaign carried by the leading spokesmen of the Liberals and Tories, and played up by the press, for a stable, for a majority government.

There is no doubt that this had considerable influence on the electorate. But there is also no question that the public utterances of Douglas and other national leaders in the last few weeks played right into the hands of this campaign. In a major speech in New Westminster Douglas completely underwrote the only then developing campaign to present the real struggle as one between the Liberals and Tories with the NDP only playing a futile and at best nuisance role, by declaring that the party only contemplated a balance of power position in the house, which he glossed up as a position that "may hold the solution to what lies ahead for Canada." Subsequently this view was repeated again and again by party spokesmen, giving official NDP sanction and affirmation to the Liberal-Tory propaganda that the real question was to pick which of them would most likely form the government and to back it up accordingly.

Underlying the Douglas-Lewis leadership's policy, and what contributed to make the Liberal-Tory campaign to dismiss the NDP so successful, are the persistent attempts on the part of the same leadership to give the party a respectable image, to win acceptance for it even from its most irreconcilable opponents, to identify the party as part of the Establishment.

What did the campaign strategists do with the nuclear arms issue after Douglas in his campaign kick-off speech committed the party to advance this as the overriding, the key issue confronting the electorate?

Wherever it was raised it won the widest acclaim, the most profound outbursts of enthusiasm and support for the party, nevertheless from Douglas' statement on, there was a retreat away from the nuclear arms issue as Diefenbaker moved out demagogically to pick it up. Very few pieces of constituency literature even mentioned the party's opposition to Canadian acquisition of nuclear arms. Where it was mentioned, it was often garbled, sometimes becoming transformed into a pious statement of opposition to a nuclear war.

While the official party policy is Canadian withdrawal from NORAD and withdrawal from NATO should it become nuclear armed, and while it was obvious that it was the US State department, dominating the NORAD alliance and in control of NATO, which is pressing nuclear arms on Canada, party spokesmen supported the military alliance with U.S. imperialism. There was no talk against NORAD through which Canada is a captive of U.S. cold war strategy. In fact one Toronto candidate openly violated party policy by declaring support of NORAD. As U.S. President Kennedy, at the very height of the campaign, lined up forces to nuclear arm NATO, instead of emphasizing the party's position of opposition and withdrawal from NATO, official spokesmen took an increasingly more positive position of

support of NATO, stating that Canada's contribution, at least, would preferably be along conventional lines.

Due to the ambiguity of its own position, added to the confusion consciously perpetrated by the capitalist parties, the NDP not only failed to awaken and mobilize the Canadian people to the grave danger but it failed to rally the support of those already opposed to the nuclear arms drive.

Many Canadians, even after two federal election campaigns, have no idea of what the NDP is so that they would even be inclined to support it. To many it is just another political party like the rest of them.

Is it a labor party? No small effort has been made to remove this, what some of the party openly call, "stigma." If you can't tell what it is from what it says about itself—perhaps it can be defined by how it characterizes its opponents, the Liberals and Tories.

From the bulk of official literature and the pre-election issue of the Ontario New Democrat you would be hard put to really grasp what the Liberals and Tories are, and certainly that their differences with the NDP are in anyway vital. There is no hint that they represent the vested interests, Big Business, or dare we use the word, capital. The Liberals and Tories are described as "weak," "lacking in imagination" they are "lack lustre," they "haven't a program."

That the program of the NDP as it now stands in no way seriously differentiates it from the Liberals Tories and Social Credit was clearly revealed when Douglas rigidly applied it to the question of what to do about runaway plants, such as Ford of Windsor, which are leaving behind unemployment and desolation. It was brought home again when Douglas had to deal with the aftermath of railway line cutbacks in the West, and when Lewis had to take up the question of the stagnation of the Maritimes. They talked in the same terms as the capitalist parties—in terms of incentives to capital, increased subventions and planning.

But it is idle to talk about controlling the economy and planning without talking about ownership—public ownership. In a full page interview with the Toronto Star, which was subsequently reproduced as a leaflet and circulated throughout his riding, deputy leader Lewis, without any authority whatever, dismissed the whole concept of public ownership. The official NDP plan to get the economy rolling again is one of "spend ourselves to prosperity"—little different and not to be taken any more seriously than the funny money schemes of Social Credit.

Talk-up and Build the Left Wing!

These are harsh comments, but we are confronted by harsh facts which need to be discussed honestly and fearlessly and then acted upon. What is involved here is the future of the party and all the work and hopes that have gone into its shaping.

As best it could, straining every resource at its disposal to rally support to the New Democratic Party, the Vanguard warned of these very dangers. It did so in the midst of the campaign, through the publication of three special issues, 70,000 of which were distributed across the country, hoping that in this way it might modify the course that it saw the leadership taking the party.

But the Vanguard's voice, all the efforts of the League for Socialist Action, the socialists grouped around the Woodsworth-Irvine Socialist Fellowship and the New Left Association, and other socialists scattered across the country are not adequate to meet the task. The new leadership, that it is now obvious the NDP must have, can only be built through a tremendous extension of the forces of the left, by a heightened effort to win the party to a class struggle program and a socialist perspective.

The first requisite is a wide-open discussion of the election campaign. The rank and file of the party who have no interest other than the truth cannot permit the leadership of the party to misdirect attention from the real problem by their launching a witch-hunt against the left.

The rank and file must not be hoodwinked by gossip, rumours and chit-chat about alleged conspiracies, and dangerous thoughts that various persons are said to hold. It is necessary to talk about deeds and facts. There are deeds that have been committed and they have been committed by the present leadership of the party. The biggest fact is that three years and two elections after the New Democratic Party was founded it has made no headway over the old CCF vote. The party needs to know the reason why so that it can take the steps it deems necessary to correct the situation.

Sask. Doctors Attempt To Sabotage Medicare

By P. KENT

The medical hierarchy in Saskatchewan, organized in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, is continuing its harassing struggle against North America's first publicly administered universal, prepaid, medical care plan. The Saskatchewan government's compromise agreement of last July, whereby doctors were permitted to work outside the plan and thus preserve their own privileges and scale down the benefits accruing to the people, didn't mollify them at all.

The main target of the hierarchy's relentless and bitter struggle to preserve its special interests has been the burgeoning grass roots Community Health Clinics which have signed up 15,000 families, are operating 10 clinics with 28 doctors, and have 27 more clinics in various stages of development. They see the clinics, with their fixed payment concept, as cutting them out of their highly profitable fee-for-service payments.

The conflict has been brought out into the open through several clinic doctors asking the government to institute an enquiry through the Royal Commission on Hospital Privileges. These doctors are demanding government action against discrimination being practiced against them by the province's major hospitals. One of them, practicing in Regina, although he has met all requirements, has been waiting almost a year to be granted hospital privileges. Under the pressure of the hierarchy, no doctor utilizing Regina hospitals has been prepared to sponsor him, necessary under a hospital by-law. Two Estevan Community Clinic doctors have been barred from the use of that town's hospital and have had no recourse but to use the Bienfait hospital, some nine miles distant.

Last year's campaign to smash the government plan by withdrawal of medical services, solidly backed up by vested interests in the drug and medical supplies bus-

iness, and enthusiastically supported by the Liberal Party, had as its main slogan — freedom for the patient to choose his own doctor, and opposition to regimentation. Just how a public health plan would interfere with a patient's freedom of choice was not clear. But it is obvious that the situation now prevailing in Saskatchewan is not only the rankest type of discrimination against certain doctors, but forces patients to utilize the services of other doctors solely on the basis that they are on the inside, and can provide them with hospital facilities should they require them.

At the height of last summer's conflict over Medicare, a Keep Our Doctors committee sprang up. Its aim was to attempt to rally popular opposition to Medicare by exploiting fears that the medical profession's opposition to socialized medicine was so intransigent that they would callously desert their patients and pull out of the province. Persons identifying themselves with KOD, according to the Hon. A. E. Blakeney, have now become a Keep Out Doctors from Saskatchewan Committee

through their efforts to contact and discourage doctors in Britain from taking up posts in Saskatchewan.

The College of Physicians and Surgeons controlled and sponsored Medical Services Incorporated has even stooped to such a petty device of sabotage as refusing to use regular government Medicare forms when making payment claims. The forms used do not go through Medicare's computers and thus, aside from wasting time, have added an estimated cost of

\$150,000 more because of staff requirements.

Saskatchewan's hospitals, built largely out of public funds and receiving hundreds of thousands of dollars every year in government subsidies, due to the manipulations of the medical top brass, have become publicly financed private clubs for a handful of well-heeled doctors.

The executive council of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, alarmed by the situation, has

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Medical Hierarchy Bucks Medicare

Continued From Page 1

urged all local unions and labor councils to see that hospital boards discharge their responsibility to all doctors and patients. The executive has appealed to the government, wherever discrimination exists, to take over administration of the hospital until such practices end. It has also urged the government to reassess the method by which doctors are presently licensed in the province.

Saskatchewan is unique in that the licensing body and the doctors' mutual interest body, the Canadian Medical Association are fused in one and the same organization — the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Last year at the height of the emergency when the college

ordered withdrawal of services in an attempt to break the plan, it used the authority to withhold licenses from doctors, loyal to their Hippocratic oaths, who came into the province — thus barring them from practising.

Important forces in the NDP at that time urged the government to withdraw licensing powers from the college and place them in the hands of an independent board organized by the university. The government failed to do so. There were also suggestions that the hospitals, largely financed from public funds, should be taken over by the province.

While it failed to spell out what it meant, the federation urged that some new method of licensing be adopted.

Present Their Bay Street Budget in Three Acts

Liberals' First 60 Days a Mockery

By P. Kent

The sixtieth day of the 60 days of decisions that Prime Minister Pearson promised the Canadian people if elected, slipped by with the Liberal government in a dither of confusion. What was to be a face-the-facts budget blew up in Finance Minister Gordon's face. In short order the government revised sales tax schedules that it had proposed — and in effect presented a second budget. Then what had been characterized as a "Declaration of Independence": legislation that was to halt the growing U.S. ownership of Canada, was also drastically revised and we had in effect a third budget. And the confusion and indecision hasn't stopped there. What the government considers the key municipal loan fund and pension bills has resulted in a deadlock with Liberal Premier Lesage challenging that it infringes on Quebec's rights.

The Liberals are attempting to get off the hook with arguments about the pressure for a quick budget, the passion and inexperience of Finance Minister Gordon and, of all things, as Pearson told a special press conference while

the house was in session on July 9, the lack of close contact with and involvement of the business community in the planning of this budget. The minister himself is a chartered accountant and business consultant for the biggest corporations in the country. Making this excuse all the more ludicrous is the fact, smoked out in the debate, that besides the extensive staff of the various departments under his authority, Mr. Gordon had the help of a small coterie of private advisors headed by a member of the big Toronto investment house of Wood Gundy and Company.

Besides, it was a Big Business budget all the way, including those sections that the government revised. In announcing the budget Gordon declared that the major emphasis is the need to reduce the number of jobless in Canada — higher than in any other advanced capitalist country. The government's solution is to give a bonus to employers who hire workers over 45 years of age who are ineligible for unemployment insurance or pension.

Gordon stressed the need to reduce the budgetary deficit by \$200

million. But the budget continues to include the burdensome military expenditure of eight times that amount — 1.59 billion dollars. Instead of scrapping the admittedly outmoded Bomarc, among the hidden expenditures is 7 million dollars to cover construction of storage dumps to house horrendous nuclear warheads for them.

As a concession to business interests involved in vast building projects and to construction bosses under contract with them, the government revised its first decision to impose an immediate 11% sales tax on building supplies. The tax will now become operative over three stages. This tax will filter down to the small taxpayer. It will increase the cost of a house to the extent of wiping out the lower interest rates and down payments included in the same budget.

Gordon noted in his budget speech that direct investments in Canada by U.S. capitalism amount to 11.8 billion dollars — that U.S. capital controls 50% of Canadian manufacturing, 75% of the gas and oil industry and 60% of the mining and smelting enterprises. He declared that the government proposes to increase Canadian

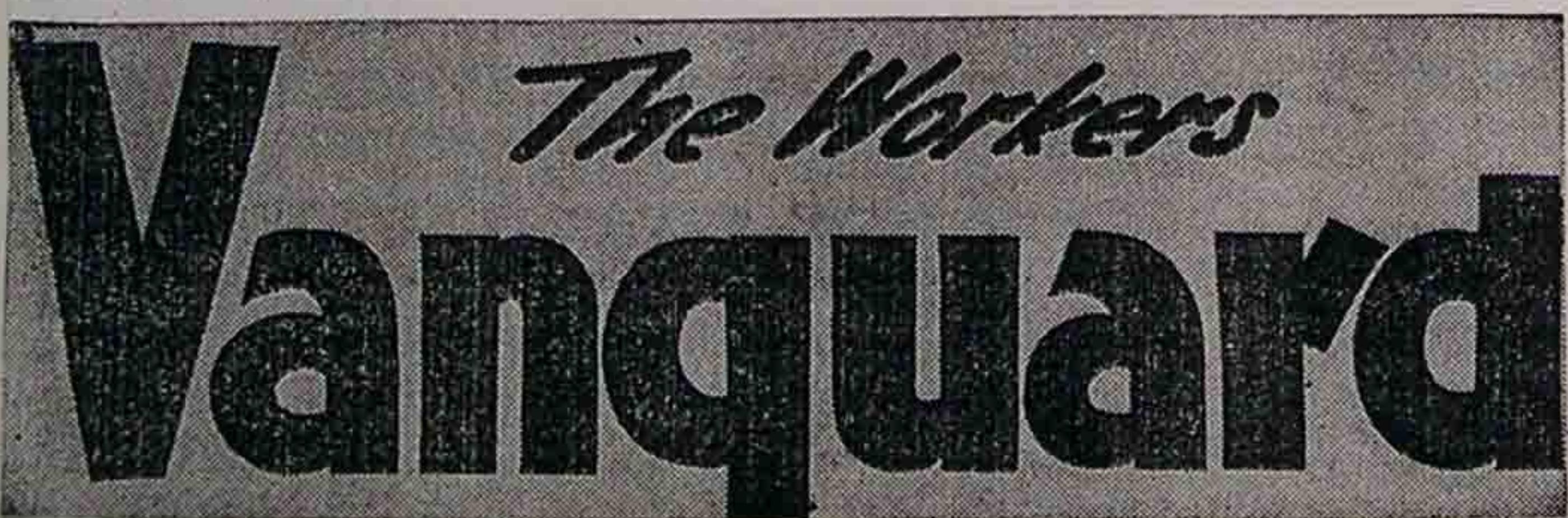
ownership in U.S. subsidiaries — a happy thought for those few Canadians who have capital. But his second budget killed the proposed 30% sales tax on the sale of shares in Canadian companies to non residents with the argument of administrative difficulties in its application.

As for the other proposals a *Globe and Mail* reporter quotes a vice-president of a large investment house: "I don't think the changes in the rates are significant enough to cause any great movement in the ownership of these subsidiaries." One bond dealer is quoted by a *Star* reporter that the biggest foreign buyers of debt securities are U.S. life insurance companies and other institutions which can already write off the 15% tax. "So far I've only found one U.S. institution affected by the new regulation. I don't think there will be many more."

The Liberals are insensitive to the needs of the Canadian working people but they are super-sensitive to every expression of uneasiness in the ranks of Big Business. That is what their confusion, their indecisiveness and revisions are about. They are a min-

ority government trying to prove that they are the best representatives of the capitalist class as a whole. And there are some touchy decisions to be made not far ahead. The Kennedy administration's actions to tear down international tariff barriers are going to create grave difficulties for Canadian industries that have been sheltered by high tariff barriers or have worked preferential tariff arrangements that will be up for renegotiation or removal.

The NDP has no cause to cringe along with the Liberals at the ridiculous spectacle they are presenting, to cry out that we cannot afford any more of these follies, as did financial critic Colin Cameron. This is not a crisis that we should lament — it is their crisis — the crisis of capitalism, of the Liberals. We should expose them mercilessly. We should proclaim our policy at every occasion. We should vote against them and bring down the government when it is least advantageous to the Tories who are waiting on the sidelines, and most favorable to assure a big stride forward to the election of a workers and farmers government to Ottawa.



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NDP Assembly Must Draw Two Year Balance Sheet

By The Editors

The New Democratic Party federal convention to be held in Regina August 5th to 10th, promises to be a crucial one for the party and, in fact, for the entire Canadian labor movement. This is the first countrywide gathering of New Democrats since the impressive and inspiring Ottawa founding convention two years ago. Since that time, the NDP has undergone the acid test of two federal election campaigns, and elections in most of the provinces. With the important exception of Quebec, the NDP has been organized in most areas, and a serious effort has been made everywhere to link the party with the official labor movement. Thus a balance sheet can be drawn of NDP successes, failures, and overall perspectives. Such an analysis is the first task of the delegates to this convention.

The second, and just as important job, is to re-orient the movement in the light of the past two years' experiences, and to work out a series of positions which pose a real working-class alternative to the bankrupt and discredited policies of the Liberal-Tory-Socred cabal which presently governs this country.

In our opinion, the major problems facing the convention can be enumerated as follows:

The results of the two recent federal elections alone make it obvious that the NDP is in a predicament. Not only have we failed to appreciably increase the old CCF vote, but our inability to make an impact upon the Canadian political scene consonant with the high hopes and expectations of the founding convention (a failure owing in large part to the vacuity of the existing program which scarcely differentiates us from the Liberal party), has been reflected of late in sagging membership figures across the country. To attract new support, members of the NDP must feel that this is not just an electoral machine but their party, in which they have complete freedom to express their opinions, without fear of retaliation by the leadership.

However, recent developments have made a mockery of the claim that the NDP is a "democratic movement financed and controlled by the membership". In Ontario and British Columbia, extensive purges of the youth movements have taken place, even to the point of effective disbandment of the Ontario NDP. In every case, the expelled youth have been "guilty" of holding minority opinions within the Party. Surely the most elementary requirement for building the party is to call off the witch hunt initiated by some sections of the official leadership, to reinstate all the expelled, and thus create an internal regime favorable to the growth of serious and uninhibited political discussion.

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A photo of some of the 1,801 voting delegates who assembled in Ottawa two years ago this month to launch the New Democratic Party.

The delegates to this year's convention have the responsibility of evaluating the validity of the liberal-reformist policies of the Douglas leadership as against the pro public ownership, anti-NATO policy that a sizeable core of delegates urged the party to adopt two years ago.



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NDP Convention Challenge

(Continued From Page One)

The biggest problem on the domestic scene remains that of unemployment. Canada now has a permanent body of unemployed reaching well over 400,000, which is growing all the time. Capitalism, suffering from the accumulation and intensification of its own inherent contradictions, has proved itself incapable of distributing the benefits of technological innovations throughout the whole population.

In our founding program, the New Democratic Party guaranteed a job to everyone. To implement this promise of full employment, we spoke of the necessity for "economic planning", to replace a system which is "unplanned, unstable and operated chiefly for the benefits of the few owners of great corporations". Clearly, it is impossible to speak of a "planned economy" outside the context of public ownership of the "commanding heights" of the Canadian economy. This convention must work out a program which in its first stages projects the public ownership of our natural resources, the banking and credit institutions, drug and pharmaceutical industry, the hospitals, basic steel.

The New Democratic Party must demand that the benefits of increased automation be distributed equitably throughout the working population. A major plank should be the shorter work week at the same take-home pay. In the face of the rising cost of living index, wage increases should be tied to increases in prices, in order to defend present real wage levels, and to prepare the ground for new gains by the working people.

One of the major tasks of this convention should be to clear up the ambiguities and contradictions of the defence and foreign policy of the party. Now that the Pearson government is engaged in arming Canadian troops with nuclear weapons, we are obligated by our founding convention commitments to demand this country's withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as well as from NORAD.

The recent Cuban crisis showed that the American government and its NATO allies, including Diefenbaker and Pearson, are prepared to take the world to the point of nuclear destruction in order to defend the narrow interests of the most powerful and rapacious ruling class on earth. By its membership in NATO and the Western Alliance structure, Canada is an active partner in the suppression of the popular struggles for freedom of the colonial peoples — in Angola, the Congo, Vietnam, Latin America, and indeed throughout the world.

By declaring itself categorically opposed to the present arms drive fostered by the American capitalist class and its Canadian business and governmental junior partners, the NDP would indeed (in the words of the 1961 program) "stand squarely on the side of freedom and with the genuine forces of freedom". To present such a policy would be to pose a real alternative to the present drift toward war and to attract whole layers of presently-latent support for the NDP among the anti-war youth, mothers and workers who are looking for a way out of the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

This convention poses a challenge to the NDP membership. By reorienting the party toward a program of clear cut opposition to the parties of capital, by arming it with a realistic class struggle policy and a socialist perspective, and electing a leadership prepared to implement such a policy, the delegates will establish the party as a force to be reckoned with in the days immediately ahead.

The Issues at Trial of the FLQ

It is good that a committee of eminent Canadians, the Quebec Civil Liberties Union, has issued a strong protest against the more than week-long detention, under the Coroners Act, of the 16 youth now charged with the bombings in Montreal which resulted in the death of one person and the serious injury of another. They have demanded the outright abrogation and replacement of this police state act.

Premier Lesage, who has worked furiously at surrounding himself with a "progressive" aura, quickly dispelled it with his attack on the *Globe and Mail*, *Le Devoir* and *La Presse*. He upheld the police seizure of the 16, their being held without warrant, without charge and incomunicado, as completely legal and just.

NDP member Prittle was on solid grounds when he demanded that the Pearson government take steps to test the constitutional validity of the act. The federal government has the power under the BNA Act, and, when various Liberal and Tory administrations have seen fit, has disallowed provincial acts.

But the matter cannot rest there. While the Front de Liberation Quebecois bombings, terrorizing and endangering the lives of a whole community, taking the life of one, and gravely wounding another, are to be deplored, we are confronted here with a political trial. The FLQ who have confessed and those who have refused to testify on the grounds that they do not as Quebecois consider themselves to be subject to the courts and the laws that they are being tried under, are not criminals but political prisoners.

No matter what one may think of the means that they adopted, and to us they are obviously and absolutely wrong, and completely incapable of achieving their declared purpose, the FLQ are not criminals but idealistic youth, serious youth, who sought to remedy the injustices confronting the French Canadian people, about which nearly everyone, even the most respectable, has been expressing so much concern over the past year.

The situation itself created the FLQ, and the means that the FLQ adopted. The system, the capitalist system, that organized system of abuses of which the people of Quebec are the victim, is the criminal. It is the responsibility of the Quebec labor and socialist movement to do much more than protest the conduct of the police, the apologetics of the Lesage government, and the inaction of the federal government. It must come to the aid of the 16 prisoners on the dock, not to defend their acts and their tragic results. These are indefensible. But to solidarize itself with their cause, to place the responsibility where it belongs, on the system, on all the forces in society that have either denied the existence of injustices, or merely manipulated them for venal purposes.

Above all it should give leadership, direction, perspective, to the struggle for French rights. Then it will attract the youth, all the forces, which will feel their power and find the mass method, the class method of anti-capitalist struggle.

European Left Examines Needs of New Algeria

By Ross Dowson

ALGIERS, June 19 — The five-day European Conference for Non-governmental Aid to Algeria closed this afternoon in this capital of the newly forged Popular and Democratic Republic of Algeria. It was a tremendous success on all counts.

Algeria's President Ben Bella addressed the final session. The evening before he had held a supper-reception for the delegates in the Palais du Peuple, formerly the palace of French governors general. The previous afternoon, accompanied by major cabinet ministers, the president delivered an official address of welcome capped by an hour or more of answering questions asked by the delegates assembled in the auditorium of the Palais du Gouvernement. The entire Algerian press followed the daily progress of the conference and gave it extensive coverage.

Some 150 delegates came together from ten different countries to participate in the sessions convened at Ben Aknoun on the outskirts of the city. The delegations contained in their ranks leading personalities of various political tendencies, including many of international prominence.

Among the British delegates were two Labour Party MP's, the editors of *New Left Review*, *Union Voice*, *Peace News*, and persons associated with other journals of the left. In his short address to the opening session on their behalf, MP John Baird read a message of solidarity from the eminent mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell.

Prominent among the French delegates were journalist Claude Bourdet, historian Daniel Guerin, and leading partisans of Algeria's struggle for independence during the seven and a half years of murderous struggle waged by French imperialism to maintain its grip on the country.

There were leading unionists from Germany, Belgium, France and Italy, and representatives of the Spanish and Portuguese underground.

Among the observers were leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions, three representatives of the trade unions of the USSR, the ambassador from Hungary, the first secretary of the Czechoslova-

kian embassy, and a representative of the Cuban government.

Opening Addresses

The opening address by the head of the presidium, Lello Baso, a deputy and the former general secretary of the Italian Socialist party, was followed by a series of short addresses.

With the adoption of an agenda the delegates participated in a series of commissions where, on the basis of reports delivered by representatives of appropriate government ministries, they studied the widespread and most urgent needs of the Algerian people.

Technicians Needed

The crucial need for technicians of every kind was graphically indicated by the observation of a government representative to the commission on agriculture that of the 80 veterinarians under French rule only six have remained in the country. An on-the-spot picture was provided the delegates by tours arranged to various projects in the Algiers district. Delegates also had an opportunity to visit farms and plants deserted by their former owners, in many cases after extensive sabotage of equipment, that have recently been brought under workers' management.

A few of the requirements were filled on the spot. Various delegates pledged immediate and specific action on behalf of their or-

ganizations. Others gave assurances of an all-out campaign through organizations already working to aid Algeria or organizations in the process of being built.

Offices are now being set up by the government through the Bureau National d'Animation du Secteur Socialiste, Palais du Gouvernement, Algiers, Algeria. This office will co-ordinate the work now being done by already existing bodies in Europe and bodies which must be set up elsewhere



BEN BELLA

across the world. Further information about helping the New Algeria can be obtained by writing to this address.

Conference Issues Urgent Appeal for Aid to Algeria

ALGIERS, June 20 — On closing its sessions here yesterday, the European Conference for Nongovernmental Aid to Algeria issued the following appeal:

"After seven years of a cruel war, Algeria was left with 250,000 orphans, 800,000 displaced persons, thousands of destroyed villages, an illiteracy rate of 80 per cent, entire regions without medical help, a thousand plants abandoned by key personnel, an economy disorganized by the massive departure of Europeans.

"Algeria needs medical instructors, industrial and agricultural specialists, skilled workers, people willing to generously share their know-how with the Algerian people.

"Algeria needs equipment and supplies in all fields: tractors, medical units and furnishings, mobile clinics, hospital equipment, school supplies, books for libraries.

"Algeria needs food for its children, clothing, medicine.

"Algeria needs understanding of its difficulties, its efforts, its hopes. It needs the truth, so often falsified, to be spoken out vigorously and clearly.

"At this moment when the Algerian workers are expressing their determination to work out their own destiny, declaring that they are taking the road to socialism, the 150 participants who came from ten countries to the European Conference for Nongovernmental Aid to Algeria, held June 15-19, 1963, make an urgent appeal to International opinion to rally in support of the New Algeria.

"We especially appeal to workers' organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth movements, civic bodies, farmers' associations, and intellectual groups to undertake rapid and effective action.

"The heroic struggle of the Algerian people for independence has won the admiration of the entire world.

"Long live friendship and solidarity with the New Algeria!"

Sino-Soviet Dispute Heads to Crisis Repercussions Spread Across Globe

By Paul Kane

That there is no possibility of settling the differences between Moscow and Peking at the conference that convened in Moscow July 5 has become apparent through the whole series of sharp clashes. Recent highlight of the conflict was the expulsion of five Chinese Communists from the Soviet Union for circulating among Soviet citizens a letter addressed by the Chinese to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the big welcome the five received upon their arrival in China. The Chinese, who have published all the major statements on both sides, have challenged Moscow to do likewise. But while the Romanians have published the June 14 letter, Moscow has refused to do so.

The letter itself, listing 25 matters that the Chinese wish discussed at the Moscow conference, is

not a document of compromise but of conflict on all the main issues at dispute. It not only amounts to a political platform for organizing opposition to Krushchov's line but is also an explicit directive for Peking's sympathizers to do so.

Expulsions and resignations are already taking place in several CP's. The pro-Khrushchov Australian leadership has moved in against leading pro-Mao elements headed by E. F. Hill who are strong in the Victoria State party, removing 15 from the state committee. Among those who have been expelled or have resigned are the party's state secretary and several top leaders in the Victoria trade union movement. The pro Maoists are also strong in the New South Wales area. There are widespread rumours of the formation of a break away CP affiliated to the pro-Peking Indonesian and New Zealand CP's in a South East

Asian federation.

Pro-Chinese forces in the Belgian CP, led by Grippa, a member of the central committee expelled with two other leading members, have held a three day conference in Brussels. Despite a warning published a 250 page platform — one attending the conference would be expelled, nearly 125 were present, representing important forces in this relatively small party. The Grippa group has just published a 250 page platform — a left criticism of the policy followed by the Belgian CP over the last 10 years.

An Italy-China Friendship Association meeting held in Rome last month chaired by a left Socialist trade union leader was addressed by Franco Molfese, a left wing member of the Italian CP. He spoke on the Chinese attitude on war. The big attendance was made up largely of members of the CP.

The Workers Guard

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Second Federal Rally Shows NDP is Rooted

By The Editors

No matter what else can be said, from whatever viewpoint, one clear and unmistakeable fact was demonstrated by the second federal convention of the New Democratic Party in Regina. We have in the NDP, Canada's, North America's, first mass labor party formation. A party that is not the result of an accidental coming together of circumstances, is not some transitory, ephemeral phenomenon but one that is solidly based and that is here to stay.

Much is being made of the decline in the number of delegates from the Ottawa convention, of the more sober and restrained mood of the delegates as compared to the great exuberance and high anticipation demonstrated at the party's founding two years ago. But the fact is that some 736 delegates were assembled from across the broad 3,000 miles stretch of this continent, representing 522 constituency organizations with 50,000 members. That is an impressive delegation.

Even more important, there were 147 delegates, together with another 41 from central labor bodies, representing 200,000 affiliate members, members of key union locals which are strategically situated at the most vital points of the economy. Almost the entire top leadership of the million-and-a-quarter strong Canadian Labor Congress—the same who are so unctuously talking about labor-management co-operation—were there, not in order to boast of successes in that direction, but on the contrary, because of their utter failure—because of the reality of the class struggle in this country.

At the conference of unionists held in Regina on the eve of the NDP convention attended by militants from the ranks and the secondary layers of the leadership, the CLC brass, in the process of presenting a province by province survey of Labor Relations Acts, were compelled to admit their failure to effect "a united campaign against the Canadian Manufacturers Association's co-ordinated drive for legislation to their liking." They were compelled to face the fact that through the anti-labor drive of the employers "a paralysis of the union movement is creeping across the provinces," that union-busting legislation is growing in province after province and that even where the odd bit of favorable legislation has been passed, in the hands of "bad" governments, it is not enforced.

Join Party, Determine Policies

That is the balance sheet of the Regina convention. It spells out that all the working people of this country must get solidly behind this party, join it, participate in the shaping of its policies and fight to put it in power.

But the balance is made up of many parts. The convention threw considerable light on a whole series of problems that need to be resolved in order to make the NDP the effective instrument that it must become in order to overcome the formidable opposition that stands threateningly across its path. The irreconcilable conflict being waged against the Saskatchewan health program by one tiny sector gulping at the feed-trough of capitalism, the medical hierarchy, gives a hint of the scope of the problem.

Even the most superficial reading of the hundreds of resolutions that were submitted from constituency organizations and affiliated union locals across the country shows that the members wanted above all an assessment of the first two years experiences of the party—that the membership consider that the major problem confronting the party is its lack of differentiation in a clear or fundamental way from the parties of Big Business.

The suggestions as to how this need is to be met are many, from inserting in the constitution that the aim of the party is socialism, by the adoption of militant demands such as the thirty hour work week, to declaring that the party is for public ownership in this or that sector of the economy or the entire basic means of production, etc.

All these resolutions were swept into the waste paper basket. On the eve of the convention, in an obvious maneuver to forestall mounting criticism in the party, Douglas declared that the truce that he and the council made last April assuring the Liberals "a fair and reasonable" period without danger of the NDP joining any move to bring them down, was now ended.

A new statement of objectives and principles was presented to the convention containing the insertion that the new society the party was aiming at will embody the principles of "democratic socialism." The token character of this action was inadvertently exposed by a party leader who challenged it from the floor since he, as a non-socialist, agreed completely with every other word in the statement.

On the key question of how the NDP as a party seeking federal office sees Canada's place in a world marked by the continued rise of the colonial revolution and the overriding threat of nuclear war, resolution after resolution urged that the party campaign for Canadian withdrawal from the NATO military alliance. But instead of honoring their pledge to the founding convention, even as the Pearson government signed Canada into the nuclear club, the top leadership had the affrontry to allege that NATO is not nuclear armed. Playing upon the hopes of the delegates that the test ban signifies more than it actually does, and throwing Douglas who had just been acclaimed as federal leader into the debate, once again the brass sustained their position.

This defeat was counter-balanced by the decisive rout of a proposal to change the constitution so as to imbed thought-control right into it. Although they left their proteges in the BC youth to carry the ball, Douglas was seen to vote for the proposal as it went down to defeat.

Requires New, Militant Leadership

The four days sessions, while they revealed that there are important currents in the party searching for a more militant policy and moving in a socialist direction, also pointed up the wide gap between them and the leadership.

In his leadership acceptance speech Douglas spelled out as his viewpoint "partnership with business . . . to provide maximum production and a fairer distribution of income". As liberal-reformists the leadership seek to work entirely within the present capitalist framework—seeking only to modify certain excesses. During the convention sessions honorary president M. J. Coldwell brushed aside any suggestion that he had been incorrectly reported when the press claimed that he is considering acceptance of a seat in the Senate.

The leadership not only advocate and foist policies onto the party that cripple its growth. As the presence of B.C. and Ontario expelled youth at the convention sessions testified they haven't hesitated to attempt to resolve political differences in the party by disciplinary means.

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NDP Convention

(Continued from Page One)

While the left was defeated in its efforts to give the party a perspective of fundamental change through public ownership, and to identify it with the great forces for social change and an end to the threat of war that are sweeping across the globe, it was a bigger factor at this convention than at the founding convention of two years ago. Not so much from its presence on the floor, where it was effective on only two or three occasions. Its absence also played a big role — the propaganda work of the expelled through the circulation of material to the delegates on their case, and the failure of the newly constituted Parti Socialiste du Quebec to send representation to the convention.

Retiring president Michael Oliver characterized the situation in Quebec as "gripped by an exhilaration, a sense of opportunities unlimited such as no other place in our country is experiencing, where new goals are being set . . . new standards of accomplishment demanded."

Oliver warned against a begrudging response as the convention revised the constitution to eliminate all sections restricting the program of provincial bodies. Through its actions the Quebec left who organized the Parti Socialiste du Quebec has not only made it possible to build an effective force there but it has struck a blow for democracy in the party — for the party has now assumed a federated character.

The resolutions from the constituency associations and affiliate bodies demonstrate that the socialist outlook has already a considerable basis of support in the party. But they stand in startling contrast with the formally adopted positions of the party and the liberal reformist views expounded by the elected leadership of the party.

In part this is due to serious shortcomings of the left. Not sufficient forces have been mobilized on a continuing basis for the advancement of its ideas. The Vanguard remains the only persistent voice of the left with a national circulation. Its frequency of publication is inadequate — its circulation too small.

The left, organized in the League for Socialist Action, the Woods-worth-Irvine Fellowship, the New Left Association and now the BC Left Caucus, did not find the means to co-ordinate its forces on a serious basis at this convention. Indeed, as the Vanguard and the LSA have come under assault from the right, elements of the left have failed to measure up to their responsibility to defend them.

One of the major sources of strength of the reformist leadership is the fact that the broadest layers of the working class have not yet entered the party, but are standing on the outside somewhat sceptical of its possibilities. It is this relative freedom from the masses which permits the machine to violate democracy in the party and to set the policy of the party on such a free-wheeling basis.

But titanic forces are at work in Canadian and world capitalist society which combined with a serious effort on the part of the socialists make possible and even inevitable their future victory.

The Kind of Aid We're For

Recent events have raised again the whole question of Canadian foreign aid to the so-called underdeveloped countries. First it has been revealed by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development that Canada stands at the bottom of a long list of countries as regards foreign aid, giving less than one-quarter of one per cent of her annual economic production. While the colonial peoples across the globe are in dire need of agricultural products, the Canadian economy is faced by the "problem" of recurring wheat surpluses, so much so that Liberal Trade Minister Sharp told the National Farmers Union recently that Canadian farmers should cut down wheat production.

The nature of this meagre aid has also been put into question by such information as Doctor Claude Vipond's, who has recently returned from a Colombo Plan assignment in Malaya.

Dr. Vipond criticizes the nature of this aid and its effectiveness, pointing out the attitude on the part of the governments receiving the aid, to the basic problems confronting their economies. He illustrated his case saying, "The Sultan of Pahang is building a \$2,500,000 palace while trucks repairing the roads in his state have been donated by the government of Canada". As for the beds, operating room, that he and other doctors had been promised "none of these was ever provided."

Much of Canadian foreign aid so far has taken the form of sending scientists, agronomists and other trained individuals into the colonial countries as advisors. Such aid is an exercise in futility, and a waste of the best intentions of these individuals because such efforts do not scrape the surface of the root problem facing the colonial countries.

The common problem confronting the colonial countries is agrarian reform — the task of reshaping economies which for many years have been deformed and maintained in their backward state to serve the interests of imperialism and their native stooges. The economies of the colonial countries are dominated by one crop, so overly centralized that even basic foodstuffs have to be imported. These countries have for many years been subject to ruthless exploitation, serving as extensions of foreign economies. Coupled with this super-exploitation, is the problem of the rule by oligarchies intent on preserving their special interests and small groups of landlords who own most of the land. In Latin America, 4 per cent of the population receives 50 per cent of the combined national incomes, while 5 per cent of the population owns half the land.

Canadian foreign aid is in fact being given to those who are opposed to the agrarian reform needed and who have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Foreign aid of this type is being used to prop up the corrupt and rotten regimes in South Vietnam, Korea and Latin America. In contrast, where a genuine effort is being made to carry out the agrarian reform and the thorough going social revolutions necessitated by this task, such as in Cuba and Algeria, no aid is forthcoming. Instead the Canadian government, in junior partnership with U.S. imperialism, has solidarized itself with the latter's counter-revolutionary attempts to revert to the wretched conditions before these measures in Cuba were carried out.

The problem of foreign aid cannot be solved by good intentions and more aid, but that aid must be channeled towards countries such as Cuba and Algeria, which are undergoing a genuine agrarian reform, and are on the way to a complete social transformation of their societies.

Toronto Labor Faced With Challenge Of How To Handle Run-Away Shops

By P. KENT

Company profits, stockholders dividends, or our welfare — which should prevail — ask 188 Toronto electrical workers? The right of capital to manipulate its investments or our right to a job in which we have invested our lives, the lives of our families in the communities in which we have our homes, and our friends — which should come first — ask another 250 Toronto steelworkers? These questions are being posed before ever broader layers of Canadian workers who can see themselves in the same position as the employees of Amalgamated Electric and General Steelwares.

Amalgamated Electric is pulling out of its old plant in the center of Toronto to a new one in nearby Markham. About 195 employees are being transferred — only 70 of whom are production workers. Some 188 long service employees are being dropped, disposed of. "A much smaller number of employees will be required to complete the estimated needs of the Markham plant", company officials callously state. Admitting the hardship that will confront these former employees, the company assured them that it was giving what help it could. This totalled up to registering them with the National Employment Service, and handing out termination payments to those with 10 years service and 49 years of age or over, amounting to anything from one week to 13 weeks pay. Thus workers, some of whom have given their entire working lives to the company and are now of such an age that they will have tremendous difficulty in getting new employment have been thrown onto the scrap heap with a couple of weeks pay in their pockets.

The company has admitted that it will be hiring 75 new employees at the minimum wage of \$1 an hour for men and 65 cents for women — some 59 cents an hour below the minimum rates provided in the collective agreement with the United Electrical Workers (Independent). That the comp-

any is taking advantage of this move outside of the Toronto area to break its contract with the union has provoked a series of militant actions.

The UE leadership, like the Rubberworkers leadership at the old Gutta Percha plant before it, did nothing over the past few years as the company started to pare down the working force to a skeleton of its former self — as layoffs got longer and reached up into the ranks of those with as much as seventeen years seniority. When it still had extensive forces strategically situated at the point of production it fought against those urging a struggle for a shorter work week. Now that the plant has closed it has launched a campaign which has won considerable public attention.

A deputation of 75 headed up by UE president C. S. Jackson to Toronto's Board of Control pressed the board to pledge that it would ask the provincial government to amend the Labor act to make union agreements binding across the province. Economics and Development Minister Macaulay made it clear to another delegation that if it is left up to the Tories there will never be such legislation. He dismissed the situation with the statement that "this is nothing new", and a promise to attempt to place those being discarded by Amalgamated in some other employment.

The picket line that the UE mounted on the new plant Amalgamated is moving its machinery into, despite the long-standing campaign by the CLC brass against the UE, has won begrudging support from some locals and the full support of the Laborers'

union under the leadership of Gerry Gallagher. The line was joined by pickets from several building trades unions protesting the employment of non-union labor on the site. Laborer's Local 183 remained on the Markham line in solidarity with the UE until an injunction was served forbidding the picket, and now helps to sustain the picket that circles the old plant in protest against shifting of the machinery to the new plant scheduled to open on September 1st.

In the midst of rising concern about the lockout and union-busting shutdown being conducted by Amalgamated came the announcement by General Steelwares that the end of the year will see the relocation of Toronto production lines employing 200 to its London and Montreal shops, and the "re-study" of remaining lines employing another 240. The union has already charged that the 240 are being "dropped onto the scrap heap." Holding the union off at arms length the company has already announced that the selected employees who are prepared to go to London and Montreal are to be paid the miserable sum of \$250 to \$300 to meet the cost of both pulling up roots and moving.

The GSW plant is hopelessly outmoded. Instead of ploughing back profits to keep it up to date the company bled everything out of it. No union can oppose the rationalization of production processes. The issue is the protection of the interests of the workers. The union must know all the facts of the situation and must intervene into all the decisions which up until now have been made behind the backs of GSW employees. Top priority is not the company's profit position, the continuing of

dividend payments, and the fat wages and bonuses going to top management, but the essential interests of the workers. Every worker has a right to his job.

The union must mobilize the power that it still retains to demand that a rank and file committee be brought right into the top circles of management where the decisions are being made and that all related matters be made accessible to it. If the lines now under "study" prove to be hopelessly outmoded due to old equipment and facilities, then the union should insist that new capital be employed either from company reserves or through the utilization of credits available through the government for plant expansion so as to ensure the present staff their jobs.

The changeover should not be utilized as the company is prone to do to cast off older workers. Any of the staff that it is agreed are incapable of being fitted into any new set-up should be retired immediately on the excellent terms that office management retire on — approximately full rates of pay. Their interests should have first call on the benefits derived from more efficient production.

The GSW workers are still in a powerful bargaining position. The Toronto plant is still in operation, the Montreal and London workers are in the same union — the largest in the country. They are in a position if necessary to take on-the-job actions. And they can mobilize public opinion, which is becoming disturbed by this increasing frequency of plant shutdowns, through deputations, petitions and demonstrations behind a plan of planning Canadian economy for humanity first.

Dief Drives the Point Home

Not many months back ex-Tory Prime Minister John Diefenbaker the same whose government passed all the legislation necessary to equip Canadian forces with all the hardware to be a nuclear power, was campaigning across the country against nuclear arms for Canada. At that time he was baiting Liberal leader Pearson who, on the eve of the elections "betrayed" all those who took as good coin his previous anti-nuclear arms pledges. Pearson defended his about face as "a man of honour." He argued that the Tory government, despite its denials, must have made commitments to the Pentagon on acceptance of nuclear warheads for the Bomars, and "our friends have the same right to assume that the commitments of Canada are the commitments of the nation."

Diefenbaker's challenge in the hustings that the Bomars were U.S. decoys to draw missile fire down on Canadian heads resulted in those who were shouting "betrayal" at Liberal leader Pearson suddenly seeing all kinds of merit in the re-election of a Tory government headed up by Diefenbaker, despite its real record when in office. In this motley group was not only the bulk of the leadership of the anti-nuclear arms movements but the Communist Party which wrote long articles in the Tribune on the progressive possibilities of a Diefenbaker government, with a balance of power position for the NDP.

You might have thought that Diefenbaker's defeat deprived us of any concrete evidence, if any were needed, as to whether these "practical" these "realistic" politicians would have been betrayed again, had he been elected; whether there is any merit at all in their continued search for a lesser evil between the Liberals and Tories. Not so!

The Liberal minority government, with no mandate from the people, has signed on with the Pentagon for nuclear warheads. There is no question about this commitment. If nothing interferes the Bomars will be nuclear armed within the next month. NDP leader Douglas has declared that he will insist that this issue come before parliament for debate and that he is prepared, should NDP votes be decisive, to bring down the government on the issue.

This has caused Mr. Diefenbaker to reply that his party will not support such an action. You guessed it — as a man of honor. "Once a government enters into an agreement", he said, aping Pearson, "parliament cannot do anything to alter the signature on that document."

For Unity of the NDP!

If there is ever a time when the NDP needs to present as powerful a front as possible it is during the elections that the ruling boss parties periodically arrange at their convenience — campaigns such as we are involved in, in both Ontario and B.C.

Unity of labor! We socialists have always stood for and acted upon that principle — the principle that labor must put up the most powerful front possible before the machinations of the capitalist class and their stooges.

Now we are in the midst of elections and what are the leadership of the party doing to assure that the party presents as strong a force as possible to place the party into a position where it can hope to win office?

In B.C. and in Ontario they are up to their necks in the pettiest of factional maneuverings against the left.

We betray no secret when we say that despite its thousands of well-wishers the party is desperately short of activists who pitch in and carry out the many and diverse tasks that an effective election campaign involves. But in Ontario the central office is bent on totally excluding some of the best activists. A blacklist has been circulated and organizers have been directed to deprive not only the 18 youth leaders who were expelled Kangaroo-style by the executive, and whose appeals have yet to be heard by the provincial council, but scores of others.

Cedric Cox — six years in the Legislature now — is immensely popular in his riding — Burnaby. This was clearly demonstrated by the tumultuous welcome NDP activists and supporters gave him upon his return from a trip to Cuba, in the face of the scandalous public censure by party leader Robert Strachan. Last month, with an election in the wind the leadership again censured Cox, this time along with M.P. Bert Herridge for speaking at an Oil Workers Union meeting a day back on the 1st of May. At the same time they commenced a local drive to deprive Cox of the nomination — they started to give the big push to a Stewart Leggett — a lawyer. Nomination night in Burnaby, long after the provincial campaign was underway, saw Cox win the nomination, despite these splitting efforts.

Nomination night in North Vancouver saw Ruth Bullock, who teed off the debate at the Regina federal convention for a policy of public ownership, ruled ineligible as a candidate by the provincial leadership. Provincial President Vulliamy said "We don't have a rea-

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son. We just decided she couldn't run." Hugh Clifford, who won the nomination, expressed embarrassment at being elected under such conditions. "I think the people of this riding have been deprived of their rights as to choice of candidate", he said.

Who are the splitters, the disrupters, the breakers of unity?

Ruth Bullock, leading activist in the Vancouver League for Socialist Action, told the nomination convention in the face of this flagrant violation by the brass of the rights of the North Vancouver constituency association: "Let's not have any soreheads over this. We still have to pull together to win this riding."

Time to Change Course!

Toronto electors, controlling 34 seats in the Ontario legislature, on September 25 swept the Tory machine into office. Just five months previously in a federal vote the same electors swept out the Tories and voted the Liberals into office. And so the Liberal-Tory, Tory-Liberal see-saw of election after election over the past several years goes on.

In the face of this restlessness and complete breakdown in party loyalties Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, again made no progress. Percentage wise the NDP dropped from 17% in 1959 to 16% of the vote this election.

NDP leader Donald MacDonald, commenting on the decisive defeat suffered by Liberal leader Wintermeyer and the Tory 78 seat sweep, claimed it was by default. "The Liberals provide a poor alternative with their mud-slinging, name-calling campaign. They played right into the Conservative's hands," he said.

But more to the point and of far greater concern to the thousands of working people who contributed their money, time and energy to the NDP campaigns is not what kind of alternative the Liberals presented. If it was a poor one it was all the more to the favor of the NDP. The question they want an answer to is "what kind of alterna-

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tive did the NDP provide to the Tories?

The sad fact of the matter is that the NDP was not presented as an alternative to the Tories — in fact the NDP leadership's strategy played right into both the Liberal and Tory hands. It was: a you have done well but we will do better, a more of the same thing, a responsible, mature image-making campaign. It was not a battle, a contest, of program but a contest for the most favorable image. The whole aim of the NDP campaign was not to differentiate the party from the Big Business parties but to play down the difference and stress a similarity.

In this area it must be conceded that the party leadership have developed considerable skill — a skill if not surpassing at least equal to the Liberal-Tory Madison Avenue advisors of taking up a question, expressing grave concern, and talking about action without any actual commitment to any specific action. The result is that the fundamentally different character of the party is covered over.

The rank and file of the New Democratic Party made it known to the leadership through the many resolutions that they presented to the August federal convention that this was their chief concern. Resolution after resolution stressed the need for the party to present a dynamic alternative program to the people of Canada. The proposals as to how this should be done were varied — but they were all ignored by the Douglas leadership. The last issue of Workers Vanguard reproduced in full an alternative policy presented by a B.C. Socialist Caucus headed up by Cedric Cox, Hugh Clifford and John Macey.

The Ontario provincial elections point up the validity of these critical feelings in important layers of the party ranks and the necessity for the effective organization of these forces to fight for a change in the course of the party.

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HELP CUBA!

When Hurricane Flora ripped through the Caribbean for five days it dealt the worst storm damage in the Americas that has ever been recorded. The destruction and resulting misery through the Caribbean, in Jamaica, Tobago, is beyond description. In Haiti alone 2,500 are reported dead, another 2,500 missing. In Cuba, according to Radio Havana, two entire villages have disappeared and there is fear that 4,000 students and workers have perished. According to the same report Cuba lost nearly all of its coffee crop, about half its sugar crop, and almost all its other crops.

It wasn't until four days after the fatal weekend that the Liberal government, in the name of the Canadian people, announced any intention of aiding the stricken area. Following the announcement by the acting prime minister, Mr. Douglas asked if he had heard it correctly — for it was a miserly \$20,000 for the entire area — \$5,000 of it earmarked for Tobago. The NDP leader acidly enquired if the

(See Page 3 CUBA NEEDS)

Cuba Needs Your Aid!

(Continued from Page one)

minister considered "this an accurate reflection of the generosity of the Canadian people?"

And this was only the first act in the scandal. Subsequent answers wrung out of the government show that this pitiful trickle of aid is being apportioned on a discriminatory basis — that the Canadian government, although with more polish and guile, is reacting in somewhat the same way as the openly declared Cuban counter-revolutionaries are reacting. They, of course, are frankly elated by the tragedy. "Now is the time to strike because electric facilities will be out for a good time, bridges are out, rails are washed out and the only communication in eastern Cuba is by radio," said Rev. Germinal Rivas of Junta Revolucionaria (JURE).

Even under the prodding query of NDP MP Colin Cameron as to whether the "government is considering including Cuba among the other Caribbean countries to which Canada is extending aid," the government remained evasive. Secretary of State for External Affairs Hon. Paul Martin's reply, as late as October 15, was an astoundingly cynical one. His comment revealed that not only has the government failed to increase aid to the area one cent over the previous \$20,000 — but even worse — it threw a question mark around giving Cuba any of it at all!

Some of the \$20,000 will be made available to Cuba said the Honourable Paul Martin "if the examination now being made by the Canadian Red Cross into the regrettable situation in Cuba can be completed." What do the words "if the examination . . . can be completed" mean? Is the Canadian government trying to Welch out of even allocating a portion of this trifling \$20,000 to Cuba?

We would fully understand the Cuban government refusing all or any part of the funds that the Canadian government has allocated to Caribbean aid. It is like the offer of an aspirin to a person whose life's blood is gushing away through a severed artery. That kind of offer is unmitigated hypocrisy. What it amounts to is a refusal to give any aid, when it comes from a country that is plagued with surpluses — butter, cheese, eggs, etc. piling up in warehouses from coast to coast.

There is no time to wait upon the government to come to the aid of the stricken people of the Caribbean. The working people of Canada, even on the basis of their individual efforts, can more than match what the government is prepared to spare from the public treasury that it regularly loots for instruments of fiendish destruction.

We favor aid without any discrimination whatsoever. But in this situation it is the tiny Washington-harassed island republic of Cuba that threatens to be most deprived of help. It is therefore the responsibility of the working people of this country, whether they approve of the social-economic system being developed there or not, to concentrate whatever help they are able to give on Cuba.

We urge you to answer the appeal launched by The Fair Play for Cuba Committee for help now by sending in your donation, no matter how small, to Box 923, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario.

Let The Truth be Heard on the Assassinations!

BY THE EDITORS

To the horror of the murder of the man holding the highest office of the most powerful nation in the world — the president of the United States — has been added the assassination of the man who had been charged by the Dallas police as the murderer.

All who, as ourselves, fervently believe that political differences within society should be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision after free and open public debate in which all points of view are heard, are saddened and angered over the death of J. F. Kennedy, and the death at the hands of an assassin of L. H. Oswald too.

President Kennedy died from an act committed by a person or persons whose identity is not now known. Lee Oswald is innocent

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Let the Truth be Heard!!

(From Page One)

until proved guilty. The evidence so far produced and the circumstances surrounding his arrest and his being charged were all along highly suspect. Now, with his assassination viewed by millions on TV screens across the world, there are substantial grounds to think that those who arrested him, laid the charges and who had the responsibility to deliver him to the courts, were perpetrating a frame-up and in desperation sought Oswald's death? The hysteria whipped up by the right did not require that they pull the trigger — but only leave Oswald, as it is apparent they did, vulnerable to anyone of many who had been worked up to do the deed.

The killing of the late president Kennedy and the late Lee Oswald — both — was born of the inflammatory agitation and deeds of racist and ultra conservative forces in the United States which have been tolerated when not actually fed by the administration in Washington itself.

It is not the left — or any part of it — that can be identified in any way whatsoever with such monstrous acts as the assassination of either the president or Lee. It is no accident that the first reaction right across the globe was that the president fell victim to the terror of the extreme right which has been so arrogant as to cause Adlai Stevenson to urge the president of the United States not to go into the state of Texas. One tenth of the population of the United States, the Negro peoples, live in constant fear for their very lives. State forces, the police and the militia, particularly in the south and including the state of Texas, far from being a protection, are armed bands, backed up by a corrupt and venal judiciary, for the violation of their rights. The failure of the administration headed by the late president to send troops in to protect the Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama resulted in the murder of six Negro children. Noted author James Baldwin at a memorial meeting in their honor challenged that "the FBI has been unable to find a single bomber after 50 bombs in Birmingham alone. You know why? — They can't afford to. If they did they would find their own..."

The highest offices in the U.S. government are staffed with men who can be considered nothing less than mad men. What else can you call them — men like Defence Secretary McNamara who can calmly talk of the mechanics of a war that would kill not one but 100 million Americans and go about the business of preparing for the survival of a remaining 20 to 40 million.

The cynical contempt for human life demonstrated by the ruling class of America has not at all been limited to the lives of the American people. They reveal an even more profound contempt, if such were possible, for the peoples of the rest of the world. It was the same Defence Secretary who in the spring of this year described the Bomarc, now nuclear armed and imposed on the Canadian people with the agreement of the Liberal government, as having no value other than to draw enemy fire in the event of war — down on the heads of the Canadian people.

As the defender of the status quo across the globe the U.S. govern-

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ment has arrogantly intervened in the internal affairs of country after country, crushing popular freedom movements, propping up discredited and bloody dictators. Not only do Cuban counterrevolutionary gangs of cut-throats and assassins have complete freedom to carry out from American soil their murderous attacks on the Cuban people — with the primary aim of assassinating Premier Castro. It is obvious that their barbarous forays could not continue without material aid from the American government whose most prominent spokesmen publicly identified it with a full scale Bay of Pigs invasion whose aim could only be realized by the virtual extermination of the entire population.

It is indeed ironical that the Cuban courts should provide a trial, such as Texan courts could not provide Oswald, for Canadians who, to the satisfaction of the Canadian press, were proven guilty of smuggling materials for murder and destruction — in the pay of the official U.S. government Central Intelligence Agency. This same CIA, when the U.S. ruling class lost confidence in the ability of their Viet Name allies to conduct a successful struggle against the popular uprising of the masses, scarcely bothered to hide its involvement in the assassination of the Nus.

We are living in a period of extreme violence. But its cause lies not in any degeneration of man himself — who in the past decade and a half has made colossal breakthroughs against ignorance and superstition, and is now, having conquered the earth, moving to lay bare the mysteries of outer space. We are living in a period of history when an old and corrupt system is giving way before the birth of a new social order. Capitalism, in its death agony, is desperately struggling to survive, flaying wildly about, polluting the atmosphere with its corruption, threatening to destroy, not only long established traditions of democracy and social justice, but to pull down civilization itself. The construction of the new order of socialism has become not only desirable — it is essential if mankind is to survive.

We are confident that the horrors of the past week will shake the American people to a greater awareness of the tremendous responsibilities that have been placed in their hands. The settlement of accounts with the central powerhouse of international reaction lies in their hands. An important move in this direction would be to insist that the spotlight of truth be turned on full, on all the circumstances surrounding the shocking deaths of J. F. Kennedy and L. H. Oswald.

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Danger is From the Right But Peril Lurks for Left

By The Editors

"The danger is from the right!" read the headline over a statement by the editors of the *Toronto Star* on the warning U.S. Chief Justice Earl Warren spoke over the bier of President Kennedy. Mr. Warren solemnly exposed the "forces of hatred and malevolence such as today are eating their way into the blood stream of American life."

The *Star's* editors dismissed any idea that it was against the left that the chief justice was crying out in alarm. "The organizations of the far Right however are a different matter altogether." The editors pointed out how in some parts of the U.S. "the propaganda of the Right has created a miasma of fear and suspicion unparalleled in American history since the Civil war . . . It is the far Right moreover," they warn, "which has been responsible for most of the serious disorder and violence in the United States in recent years, from the race riots and bombings in the South . . ."

FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover and his top aides, according to a special report to the *Toronto Telegram* are convinced that Kennedy's assassin had "no relationship to either the American Communist Party, Marxist groups which call themselves Trotskyites, or any part of the international Communist movement."

Nonetheless a persistent campaign is afoot to link the assassination of the American president with the left. The Right has considerable interest in such a campaign. By such means they can hope to get out from under the spotlight that deep suspicion of the many strange circumstances surrounding the assassination of the president and Lee Oswald has thrust them, and to carry forward their campaign of hate and violence which led up to the assassination.

But there are others, some of whom claim to be defenders of the great liberal tradition of free speech and majority rule, who are attempting to link the assassination of President Kennedy to the left.

One of them is the editor of the *Star* himself, the same who spoke so forthrightly before but who on November 30 published an article by staff writer Ross Harkness. This article, under the guise of exposing "Hate Literature" which can "Set Scene for Violence Here," ends up with a vicious, lying attack on the left — on the Trotskyists.

see page 3—SMEARING THE TROTSKYISTS

Smeering the Trotskyists

Continued From Page One

After quoting a virulent anti-Semitic leaflet that appeared in Toronto linking the Kennedy assassination to Communism, and commenting on the fascistic Canadian Intelligencer and the adventurist separatist Front de Liberation Quebecois, Harkness fastens on to the Trotskyists.

He accurately quotes "Canadian Trotskyist leader Dowson" as saying he did not "know what Oswald was," that "if it is proven beyond all doubt that Oswald was the assassin, then he was not a Trotskyist. We reject individual terror, assassination, as outside the whole tradition of the Marxist political struggle."

But he hastens to undo the effect of these statements by having Dallas police claim that Oswald not once but "twice visited Canada to participate in Trotskyist demonstrations." Whether the Dallas police, many of whose statements the *Star* has been dismissing, actually said this, or Harkness fabricated the story, we do not know. But Harkness' story about a Montreal detective claiming to recognize Oswald in a demonstration there, which he utilizes to buttress the Dallas claim, had to do with an anti-nuclear arms demonstration.

This story probably has no more truth in it than what was in the now totally discredited story about Oswald's trip to Mexico dressed in a sailor's uniform and in the company of foreign-speaking persons. Its sole merit is that it served Harkness' purpose.

The rest of Harkness' article is a mish-mash of misinformation, to

put it charitably, all designed to present the Trotskyists, who publish a monthly paper, whose branches hold weekly public forums, who have run for public office, as some kind of secretive, conspiratorial group—not an integral part of the Canadian scene, but an alien force — seeking "to infiltrate labor and moderate left wing groups."

Harkness of course made full use of the slanderous comments that appeared in the Soviet press. Although it carried the line that Oswald was in all probability a tool of the Right, it commented to the effect that if he had any connections with the left he was a Trotskyist.

GIVING REACTION A HAND

But if it were not that it is so pitiful a statement appearing in the mimeographed sheet called *Peace Center News*, published in Toronto, would be difficult to surpass for defamation and libel. These apostles of non-violence give violence to the truth in the most incredible way.

Abandoning all responsibility, latching onto the now widely spread lie that the Chinese are opposed to any international detente, but actually seek war, and fastening this position onto the Trotskyists, the author insinuates that these forces might well be responsible for the assassination since they would like to diminish the chances for peace.

Confronted with this any other lie or innuendo pales into insignificance. But others have dipped their pens into this vile poison. If their line is more subtle it nonetheless comes from the same pot.

The Education Committee and Human Rights Committee of the Toronto and District Labour Council have issued a special circular to all affiliated locals appealing for a big turn-out at a coming Conference on Human Rights. They head it up with a protest against the same anti-Semitic leaflet referred to by the *Star's* Harkness. "Democracy is under attack from the extreme right," write the authors and then, unable to resist the temptation, they tack onto it, "and the extreme left."

In the BC NDP Socialist caucus tempers are running high against the same trick pulled off by the party leadership in the pages of the party's organ *The Democrat*. This month's issue carries on the front page a report of the November convention. It prints a list of the names of all those who appeared on the opposition socialist slate and strongly characterizes them as "extremists." A delegation led by Dorothy Steeves is going to appear before the next provincial executive meeting to protest the article and demand a retraction. It is the feeling of many that the word "extremist" was used in a cynical, calculated way to take advantage of the hysteria that has been raised around the Kennedy assassination and to cause personal and political difficulty to the leaders of the socialist caucus.

COMMUNIST PARTY DOES FINK JOB

But how do you explain the Communist Party's press, the Canadian Tribune's participation in this campaign? In its issue immediately following the assassination of President Kennedy, which completely rewrote the late President's role in contemporary politics, the editors went out of their way to slander unknown, unnamed persons who might object, as indulging "in irresponsible leftism." In the same issue the editors published a lengthy letter directed against an unnamed "way out leftist group," the logic of whose position, the author claims, would "be bearing arms" and "secretly training to 'take over.'"

In their following issue the editors reproduce a lengthy statement by U.S. CP leader Gus Hall. "If we (the CP, it reads) are to be located in the political terms of 'Left' and 'Right' then we declare our position as that of the 'responsible Left.'"

Do the editors of the Tribune hope to divert the Right from attacking them by pointing to another target — to others they finger as "irresponsible" as "way-out leftists"? Do the Communist Party leadership think it possible to appease the Right?

A dream, an illusion, fraught with the gravest dangers! There certainly are solidly and reasonably based fears that the Right, up to its neck in the assassination of Kennedy, would like to utilize it for a witch hunt against the entire radical and liberal movement. One of the indications is the reinforcement given by "government sources" to the allegation by the reactionary General Walker that Oswald tried to assassinate him too. This story when first reported by the neo-Nazi National Zeitung und Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung of Munich Germany at the end of November was dismissed by responsible European newspapers. It took the North American press with a green light from "government sources" to give the report front page billing.

If this threat is to be blocked all labor and liberal opinion is going to have to stand firm, conscious that a blow against one is a blow against all — and to even take an offensive position such as the American Civil Liberties Union's denunciation of the gross violation of Oswald's civil liberties.

Only in this way can we be sure that Kennedy's assassination will not become an excuse for a mounting and new witch hunt.

Cost of Living Reaches New Peak Speculators Plunder Record Profits

By P. Kent

As the years end approaches it appears certain that dividend payments dealt out by Canadian companies will set a record for the fifth consecutive year. As of the 11th month \$812,117,194 had been paid out to big business interests — an increase of 6 per cent over last year.

But for the great number of Canadians who made these profits possible the picture is not so rosy. The cost of living is now the highest ever. We now have to pay more for nearly all groceries and a wide range of other essential consumers' goods than ever before — according to government figures released early this month. The government index had risen to a record 134 points by the end of October. All signs point to it making an even sharper climb in the next few months.

On December 18 all the major bakeries in Ontario announced an increase which will immediately hoist the price of a 24 oz. loaf of bread from 25 cents to 26 cents. In Hamilton it is already 27 cents a loaf. And we won't be able to eat cake either for the increase is carrying right on through all baked goods. The record high October figure doesn't take into account the staggering and unprecedented holst in the cost of sugar which is certain to filter through, as it has with bread, and result in boosts in nearly all basic foods. As of May the price of sugar was already the highest since 1920 and it has been rising steadily. At one point early this November Canadians were paying 97 cents for five pounds at a time when the US price was 49 cents.

A. E. Beeby, executive vice-president of Salada Foods, blames speculators. There is no world shortage of sugar, he told the press. Speculators, in hope of quick profits, buy on world mark-

ets and Canadian prices are based on world prices, he said.

Another big factor that is sending the cost of living for the ordinary working man sky high is the price of housing. The housing index has been climbing steadily according to the Toronto Real Estate Board, largely due to the machinations of land speculators. The Board has just released figures on the average asking-price for new houses in Toronto's three largest suburbs. Last June it stood at \$20,811, an increase of \$5,811 over the average of 10 years ago. Today, just six months

later, it has risen to \$21,371 — in a six month period another \$560. According to the board, land for a house in the \$16-\$22,000 bracket takes up \$7,500 of the price.

The government has done nothing about the skyrocketting cost of living other than to record it. It's most likely next action will be to set a new base figure for computing it since it has now risen 34 points over the 100 mark which was set in 1949 when the cost of living zoomed over the previous base to the 150 mark. In this way no matter how it effects

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Push Up

the table and the living standards and health of the Canadian workers it won't look so bad.

New Democratic Party demands that the government investigate the excessive profits made by the sugar companies of Canada have met with assurance that it is prepared to consider tightening up the anti-Combines law. But under Liberal-Tory administrations and the judiciary that they control through appointments, the fines levied against violators they have caught have been aptly characterized as nothing more than licenses to practice.

Justice Minister Chevrier's repudiation of any concept of price controls points up the fact that if there is to be any action at all against the price gougers it is going to have to be taken by the major organized force of the working people—the trade unions, now over 1½ million strong.

During the inflationary bouts following immediately upon World War II, thousands of unionists defended their living standards by establishing in union contracts a clause which guaranteed automatic wage increases with each rise in the cost of living. Some years back this protection was bargained away in return for pension, hospital and other fringe benefits. With the continued rise in the cost of living the value of these has been considerably undermined. It is necessary to open a struggle once again to establish a sliding scale of wages clause in union contracts.

And one of the best actions organized labor could possibly take to overcome a feeling that it is a narrow vested interest in the minds of the thousands of Canadians who live on fixed incomes, would be a massive drive to force the government to grant automatic increases to pensioners and annuity holders to meet each rise in the cost of living.

